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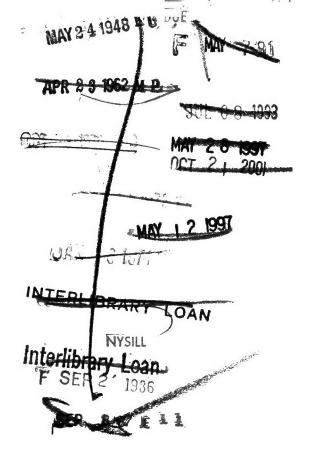
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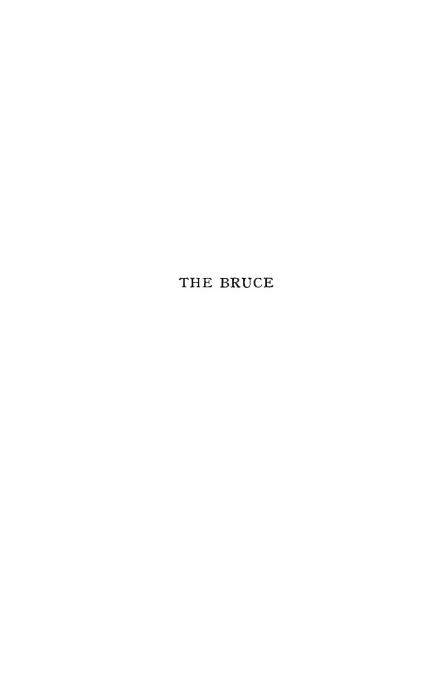


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# THE BRUCE

BY

### JOHN BARBOUR

ARCHDEACON OF ABERDEEN

### EDITED FROM THE BEST TEXTS

WITH LITERARY AND HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND APPENDICES, AND A GLOSSARY

В

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### PREFACE

### I. MSS. AND EDITIONS.

THE poem *The Bruce*, by John Barbour, is preserved in only two manuscripts, one in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, and the other in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. The former is hereafter denoted by the letter C, the latter by E. Of these E alone is complete in the sense of having both beginning and end; the first three Books and Book IV. 1-56 are missing in C. On the other hand, C bears to have been completed in 1487, E in 1489. Other things being equal. the earlier MS. must, of course, be preferred. Here, however, intervenes a series of extracts, numbering 280 lines from Books I. and II., embedded in Wyntoun's Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland, and the two MSS. of the Cronykil are actually older than those of The Bruce. This raises a difficulty, as Wyntoun's extracts show a goodly proportion of variations in language from the corresponding passages in E, the only other MS. which covers the same ground. Professor Skeat considers that Wyntoun's lines are "in a better form (in the main)" than those of E: but, on the other hand, we do not know Wyntoun's method of working in such a case—how far he transcribed verbatim, how far "he modified the language of the MS. which he must have had before him."2 Many lines he omits, and others he obviously paraphrases; he incorporates matter from another source; and his version of The Bruce lines may quite well be due to memorial reproduction after a hurried reading. It is not otherwise easy to account for scraps of a few lines of the poem being here and there embedded in narrative independently worded or derived. There is thus no warrant for erecting this chopped-up, secondhand version of the lines in question into a canon or standard for a purely scribal transcript made for its own sake. It is needful to enter this plea in view of the separatist theory of

<sup>1</sup> Preface, S.T.S. edition, p. Ixxv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Skeat, p. xxxvii.

Mr. J. T. Brown, for whom the passages in Wyntoun represent so much of the original or ur-Bruce, out of which our MS, and printed versions have been elaborated by a fifteenth-century editor, who, to do so, borrowed freely and with no great cunning from the works of contemporary

authors.1

The earliest printed versions of The Bruce raise yet another issue bearing on the purity of the text. The first is apparently of the year 1571, and only one copy is known to exist.2 It does not, however, differ materially from that of "Andro Hart" (H), published at Edinburgh in 1616. In this the language is modernized; still more so is it in the edition of four years later from the same publisher. And these seem to have been the basis of the gradually worsening issues so common in the eighteenth century, until in 1790 Pinkerton reverted to the sound critical method of having a transcript made directly from the Edinburgh MS. This again was the origin of Jamieson's more careful edition of 1820, reprinted with a few corrections in 1869. Meantime Cosmo Innes had prepared for the Spalding Club (1856) a version which, for the first time, introduced readings from the Cambridge MS., but which, in being dressed up in a "consistent orthography," so far reverted to the evil example of Hart. Subsequently, for the Early English Text Society, and later, for the Scottish Text Society, Professor Skeat, basing on C, but also utilizing E and H with a few readings from Wyntoun and Anderson's issue of 1670, produced, for the first time, a full and in all respects competent text. To Skeat's edition the present one is essentially indebted.

The main point about Hart's edition (H) is that it supplies 39 lines not found in either MS., with an expansion of two others into eight, 45 new lines in all. The expanded portion Skeat perforce relegates to the footnotes. Twelve lines from Hart in the last book he at first accepted as genuine, but finally discarded as an interpolation.3 He might justifiably have gone further, for he seems to me to have erred in attaching undue importance to Hart's unsupported contributions.

This is made clear by considering the question as between C and E. Each MS. has portions not found in the other. The scribe of E furnishes his own excuse; his copy was "hurriedly written" (raptim scriptus). Consequently we are

<sup>a</sup> See Appendix D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Wallace and The Bruce Restudied, p. 74 and passim. See also Appendices E, F.

For a detailed account of the different editions see Skeat's Preface to the E.E.T.S. or S.T.S. issues.

not surprised to find that he has dropped 81 lines found in C. On the other hand, the more careful Cambridge scribe has overlooked, as the best of copyists might, 39 lines preserved in the Edinburgh version. Upon analysis of these two groups a satisfactory test of character emerges. In one case only-C, Bk. VI. \*85-\*92, E, Bk. VI. 101-106—do we find an unexplained confusion, traces of two alternative accounts of one incident, a possibility to which Barbour refers in several instances. One line from C Skeat rejects because it results in a triple rhyme.1 Having eliminated these, we find that of the remaining omissions in E two lines are the result of the misplacing of one;2 eight lines are couplets which have been overlooked; four lines are necessary to complete couplets, so that their loss is due to sheer carelessness; while the bulk of the missing lines, 57 out of 80, is accounted for by the recurrence of the same word or words at the beginning or end of the line, whereby the eye of the scribe has run on from, e.g., "Toward the toun" in Bk. IX. \*374 to "Toward the toun" in 374, and from "thai fand" in Bk. XIII. 446 to "thai fand," in \*450, missing all between. A parallel result is given by analysis of the 39 lines wanting in C but present in E. Six are involved in the mutual perplexity of Bk. VI.; one is merely a careless oversight, and the remaining 32 come under the main category of omission through recurrence, within a short space, of the same word or rhyme. On the whole, then, with the reservation noted above, the condition of things as between the two MSS, is quite normal; the omissions are explicable on ordinary grounds, and as the missing lines, with but one real exception, take their places again without disturbance of their neighbours, we may conclude that C and E are individual versions of a single original poem, and complementary to each other. But copyists were only mortal; an author too might see cause to alter a MS.; and the variations of reading, even with those of Wyntoun thrown in, after all supply a less serious illustration of such possibilities than do the MSS. of the Canterbury Tales from the Ellesmere to the so disturbing Harleian.

As for the lines found only in Hart's edition, their every feature arouses distrust and suspicion. Skeat's judgment of "almost certainly genuine" he has had to retract for 18 out of the total of 45, including the eight-line version of a couple in the MSS.<sup>3</sup> Those on the heart-throwing episode, Bk. XX. \*421-\*432, have been referred to above. Not a single example

<sup>1</sup> XVIII. \*537; and see note on p. 277.
2 VIII. \*493, \*495.
3 XVII. 887, 888.

of the remaining accretions meets the test of repetition operative in the case of the MSS., or suggests its own explanation. The couplet in Bk. II., p. 25, is nothing either way; that on p. 283 is awkward; the intrusive lines on p. 321 are neither sense nor grammar; those on pp. 215, 216 can find a place only by an unwarrantable alteration of the succeeding line in both MSS., a liberty which Mr. Brown, on purely speculative grounds, lightly accepts from the very passage in question.1 On the untimeous harangue into which Bruce is made to pass on p. 230 I have spoken in its place. In general it may be said that Hart's contributions are clear misfits. Moreover, the circumstantial evidence seems to clinch the main conclusion. Hart, or his editor, had a turn for rhyme: to him are due the rhyming rubrics, and he added at the close of the poem a halting colophon of six lines, which in the later corrupt editions was simply merged in the poem, and is quoted as a specimen thereof in a critical historical work of 1702.2 In XX. 610 he has barefacedly substituted a line for that of the MSS., which introduces a detail not found before the time of Bower and no doubt taken from him.3 This throws a strong light on the origin of other lines in the same Book.4 Thus we prove capability and inclination. Hart "modernized" the language of The Bruce, and from "modernization" to "improvement" is a tempting transition.

#### 2. THE SCRIBES.

The Cambridge MS, bears witness that it was completed on August 18, 1487, by the hand of "John de R., chaplain"; the Edinburgh MS. that it was "hurriedly written" by "John Ramsay" in 1489, for a Fife vicar; and the latter signature is attached to the only MS. of The Wallace, which accompanies that of The Bruce but was transcribed two years earlier. Skeat immediately pronounces that the names signify but one person, that "John de R." is also "John Ramsay," apparently on the logic of Wonderland, because both surnames begin with the same letter.5 Mr. Brown, however, points out that this equation of alternative forms was highly improbable for

The Wallace and The Bruce, pp. 133, 134.
 The Scottish Historical Library, by W. Nicholson, Archdeacon of Carlisle, p. 147.

See note on passage. <sup>4</sup> See Appendix D.

<sup>&</sup>quot; The Bibliography of the Cambridge History of English Literature. vol. ii., recklessly says: "As the colophon informs us (!) all three MSS. were written by John Ramsay" (p. 447).

fifteenth-century Scotland, and substitutes a reading of his own whereby the scribes are still merged in one personality as "John Ramsay" otherwise "Sir John the Ross," one of Dunbar's makars, the real author of The Wallace, and the wholesale redactor of *The Bruce*. The details of Mr. Brown's argument and all that flows therefrom must be read in The Wallace and The Bruce Restudied. Mr. Brown (if I may say so) never fails to be suggestive and interesting, and even the light which led him astray was real critical illumination; but John Ramsay, who, "as a chaplain"—which he does not claim to have been—" was entitled to the courtesy title of Sir," and took his alternative name from his office as "Ross Herald or Ross Secretary";3 who lightened the toil of transcribing Acts of Parliament by dropping into verse on the margin—an unjustifiable accusation; and who, from the seed of Blind Harry's "gests," raised the prickly bloom of The Wallace, and grafted enough borrowed material on to the rough stock of the original Bruce to make it something substantially different, and did all this without leaving even a cipher as a hint to posterity—of this complex and composite personage Mr. Brown is the only begetter, and his brief and inglorious career may be followed in The Athenaum, November 17—December 8, 1900, February 9, 1901. Mr. Brown, of course, can still claim that the problem of late redaction remains, whoever the guilty one may have been.<sup>5</sup> On this understanding I deal with it elsewhere.<sup>6</sup>

For the MSS., it needs but a slight examination to show that they are from different hands. The fifteenth century had no "consistent orthography," but a scribe would probably have of himself; would not, at the least, exhibit the systematic differences that mark the MSS. in question. That the differences are due to the scribes is indicated by their occurrence even in proper names where E is, on the whole, much more accurate than C.\(^7\) Add that C offers more traces of southern English influences; that it invariably gives the weak form I for the Ic or Ik of E, and substitutes can for the latter's gan; that it regularly prefers of to the off which distinguishes E and in certain positions i for y—these with other minor peculiarities, not being vital in character, are certainly due to individual idiosyncrasies in spelling. Ramsay is an honest scribe, who, at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bonn, 1900. <sup>2</sup> Brown, p. 82. <sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

See Athenaum, November 17, 1900.

<sup>5</sup> Athenæum, December 8, 1900. 6 Appendix F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>And Koeppel, while granting the general superiority of C, gives as his opinion that in not a few cases E, nevertheless, where it differs from C, preserves the genuine, original reading (*Englische Studien*, A., p. 377, note).

places, cannot read his original, and leaves a blank which must be supplied from the copy of the chaplain. There is thus not the faintest reason for supposing but one scribe to have been at work. At the same time the essential agreement of the two transcripts shows that we are dealing with a single, complete, familiar poem which has suffered in precision of copying from the usual mishaps incident to its manner of publication and preservation.

### 3. THE PRESENT EDITION.

The present edition of *The Bruce* is based upon the printed text of the Cambridge MS., collated throughout with that of E—that is, upon the versions of Skeat and Jamieson. I have, however, adopted rather more readings from E than does Skeat, also a few more from Wyntoun, and offer some slight emendations—e.g., luffys for liffys in Bk. II. 527, oft for off in III. 194, Fyn all for Fyngall in II. 69, etc. I have profited, too, by criticism of the published text as in the adoption of Dr. Neilson's corn-but in Bk. II. 438. The question of Hart's version has been discussed above; it is valid only as a check upon the MSS. Variants of any interest or importance are given in the footnotes.

There has been no modernization of the language save in the case of the rubrics, which are no part of the text proper and have been contributed by the scribes or editors in order to facilitate the understanding of the poem. I have thus adhered to the spirit while modifying the letter of their work. But while avoiding any change in the language of the poem or even any attempt at a uniform spelling, I have taken a few harmless liberties with its alphabet and restricted certain of the letters to their modern values, substituting for others a modern equivalent. Skeat did this in the matter of the ancient "thorn" letter = th. In consideration of the general reader, I have gone somewhat farther, viz.:

I. The s with the ornamental curl I read as merely s; Jamieson and Skeat take it as, generally, = ss. But such alternative forms as Parys, purches, and purpos, on the one hand, and the actual use of the tailed letter following the ordinary type in dress, press, fix the usage I have adopted. There are a few exceptions in which this letter is probably a contraction for is—e.g., II. 366, 459.

IX. 492, XIX. 459, XX. 396.
 I. 345.
 II. 572.
 III. 287.
 XIV. 246; XVI. 253.
 Cf. also in Gregory Smith's Specimens of Middle Scots, p. xxx.

2. I have distributed their modern values to i, j, u, v, w. There is no advantage in preserving such forms as iugis, Europe, wndyr: the hedge of the language—to use Lowell's simile—is prickly enough without these accessories. Moreover, I have throughout written Edward for Eduard or Eduard and Inglis for Ynglis (C).

3. As Skeat has substituted "th" for the "thorn" (p), I have done likewise with the ancient English g (5), the "yok" letter, resolving it into the digraph yh. As ultimately, in almost every case, significant of the consonantal y, I might have simply replaced it by that letter. But alternative forms, nearly with out exception, show the digraph, both in The Bruce and in Wyntoun, giving yhe, yhet, yharnit, fenyhe, etc., and in Wyn toun's extracts feylnnyng, senyhoury, yhystir-day, bayhllys, etc. Even with the original letter the h is added as often as not. Apparently the usage, which had practically disappeared from the southern practice, was in a transitional stage on its way to its full revival in later Scots, where it became fixed, at the hands of the printers, as z, and survives in such forms as Cadzow, capercailzie, etc. In I. 16, however, it has been read as g in forget, though foryhet is to be found in Ratis Raving, and in XV. 75 it is obviously z in Fi(t)z-Waryne.

4. The placing of the capital letters and the punctuation are,

of course, modern.

Further, the poem in MSS is not divided into Books, but paragraphs are denoted by the insertion of a large capital; these, as in C, are similarly marked in the text. The division into twenty Books was first made by Pinkerton, and, as the most convenient, has been adopted by Skeat in his editions. From Pinkerton also Skeat adopts the numbering of the lines. Jamieson, however, made a division into fourteen Books with a numbering to suit. Cosmo Innes gave up the Books in favour of Cantos, with a fresh renumbering. To avoid confusion I have adhered to Skeat's divisions and numbering, which are those of Pinkerton; inconvenient though the duplicate numbers certainly are, a totally new and fourth arrangement would be much more so. To break up and make more accessible the matter, I have also introduced, where possible, the paragraphs of Jamieson distinguished by spaces, some of these, however, being found in C. They are merely for the convenience of the reader. I may, perhaps, draw attention to the critical treatment of The Bruce as an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Murray's Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, p. \*92; and New. Eng. Dict., G.

historic document without which we move greatly in the dark. The historical notes of the early editors are few and superficial. Skeat does not profess to deal with the work strictly on this line (note, vol. ii., p. 224), though he does not fail to pass unnecessary censure at several places. But some such examination as I have tried to make seems necessary in the interests of Scottish historiography.

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### INTRODUCTION

### 1. "THE BRUCE" AS ROMANCE.

THE literary relationships of The Bruce may be briefly indi-It stands at the beginning of Scottish literature; of its predecessors and contemporaries we have but the names, or possible versions whose place of origin is in dispute. In form and technique, including the octosyllabic couplet, it plainly depends on the French metrical romance, the most fruitful branch of a literature which, for quite two centuries, had been the mother of literatures in Western Europe. The opening line of The Bruce characterizes at once the poem itself, and what was best and most abundant in the literature of the Middle Ages. Barbour, too, it is never overlooked, announces his work as a "romance," but as such, we gather from what precedes, only in a technical sense; and no mediæval writer would consider this popular method of treatment incompatible with strict accuracy and reality of subject: that is a modern refinement. Barbour certainly did not, nor did those who followed and used him; his selection of the model is simply the expression of his desire to do his work in "gud manere." He anticipated Macaulay's ambition in that his history was to differ from the most attractive literary matter only in being true. There were already in French many examples of contemporary history presented in this way as a succession of incidents on the lines of personal memoirs, though history hadin the end succeeded in widening its outlook, and consequently found more fitting expression in prose. But that was of Barbour's own age, and indeed Froissart had made his first essay, as an historian, in verse, which later he recast and continued in the form we know. All the necessities of Barbour's case, however, led him the other way—the despised condition of the prose vernacular as a literary medium, from which, indeed, it never fully emerged; the character of his audience, which would be either learned or aristocratic; and the nature

and associations of his subject, for which only the literature of romance could furnish a parallel or supply the appropriate setting. The literary qualities of *The Bruce* are, therefore, those of its model; it is a clear, vivid, easy-flowing narrative, and if it is also, as romances tended to be, loose in construction and discursive, it is never tedious, for it deals with real persons and events of real interest, depicted with an admiring fidelity.

### 2. JOHN BARBOUR.

The year of John Barbour's birth we do not know, an item which is lacking also for Chaucer: 1320 is a good round guess. Nor have we any knowledge of his family. If, however, the St. Ninian in the Legends of the Saints be of Barbour, a claim for which there is much to be said, it may give us a clue. The adventure of Jak. Trumpoure, there told, connects with the fact that Jaq. (James) Trampour had land in Aberdeen bordering on that of an Andrew Barbour. It may be conjectured that the latter was John Barbour's father, or other near relative, since the vivid personal details of the affair in the St. Ninian must have come from Trumpour himself, and the fact that he was a neighbour of the Barbours would explain how.

The name Barbour (Barbitonsoris) is obviously plebeian. Some ancestor followed the business of barber, as some one of Chaucer's possibly did that of "hose-making." The established spelling, Barbour, shows a French termination which takes also the form Barbier, whence Mr. Henderson concludes that John Barbour "was of Norman origin." But the spelling is merely an accident of transcription; the oldest form is Barber(e) (1357, 1365), which the scribe of the Edinburgh MS. also uses, and which Wyntoun rhymes with here and matere; in a few cases it is Barbar. As we might expect, the name was common enough in the English-speaking districts of Scotland.

All our information about John Barbour, except the little to be gleaned from the complimentary references of later authors, is drawn from official sources, and is thus, of course, perfectly precise, but meagre and uncharacteristic. We learn

<sup>3</sup> Scottish Vernacular Literature, p. 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Neilson in Scottish Antiquary, vol. xi., p. 102 ff., and Buss, ex adverso, in Anglia, Band ix., p. 495.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Jamieson's *Memoir*, p. iv.

For this reason Buss always gives the name as Barbere.
 These have been brought together by Skeat in his first volume,
 DD. XY-XXV

something of what Barbour did and got, but not what sort of man he was, or what he was like. By 1357, at the latest, he is Archdeacon of Aberdeen, the most important official of the diocese after the bishop, having as his prebend the parish of Rayne, in Garioch; and in the same year (August 13) he has a safe-conduct to go with three scholars, for purposes of study, to Oxford, where he may have seen John Wycliffe. There was, of course, no University in Scotland as yet, and scholars desirous of academic advantages had to seek them at least across the Border, a patronage which Edward III., in his own interests, readily encouraged. Seven years later he is again in England on a similar mission with four horsemen, and on October 16 of the year following he goes to St. Denis, near Paris, this time with six companions on horseback; in 1368-60 he once more visits France "with two servants (vallettis) and two horses." The University of Paris had the highest reputation for the study of philosophy and canon law, and Barbour, whose duty it was to administer the jurisdiction of his bishop, would necessarily be something of a lawyer, though his allusion to the clerkly "disputations" in this field does not suggest much personal interest in legal refinements.

His next appearance is in a different though related capacity. In 1372 he is clerk of the audit of the King's household, that of Robert II., who had come to the throne in the previous year as the first of the Stewart Kings. The year after he is also an auditor of exchequer. The Stewarts were good friends to Barbour, and we see the result in his kindly, almost affectionate, references to the family in his poem. He wrote up their genealogy, but that piece of work is lost. After a long interval he reappears as an auditor of exchequer in 1382, 1383, 1384. For some part, at least, of this interval he was engaged upon The Bruce, and its completion in the course of 1376 suggestively approximates to a grant of £10, by the King's order, from the customs of Aberdeen, first recorded in the accounts of March 14, 1377. So also does a pension of twenty shillings sterling from certain revenues of the same city, granted on August 29, 1378, to himself and his assignees for ever.3 Accordingly, two years later Barbour assigned his pension, on his death, to the cathedral church of Aberdeen, as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Skeat here takes *equitibus* to be "knights," but this is not a military business. They were, we may judge, the attendants proper to his rank.

<sup>2</sup> See on Bk. XIII. 702.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The account of 1429 is the first to state expressly that this perpetual pension was "for the composition of the book of the deeds of the erstwhile King Robert the Bruce" (Excheq. Rolls, iv., p. 520).

payment for a yearly mass for his own soul and for the souls of his relatives and all the faithful dead. The practice of these payments can be traced for a considerable time afterwards, but the financial readjustments of the Reformation sent

Barbour's legacy elsewhere.

But the royal bounty had not dried up. In 1386 the poet had gifts of £10 and £6 13s. 4d., no doubt in recognition of further literary labours. And on December 5, 1388, he had a fresh pension of £10 for life "for faithful service," to be paid in equal portions at Pentecost and Martinmas. This he enjoyed for only a few years. On April 25, 1396, the first payment of twenty shillings is made to the Dean and Chapter of Aberdeen, so that Barbour must have been dead before April 5, 1395, when the accounts for the year began. As his "anniversary" fell on March 13, that date in 1395 was, in all probability, the day of his death. Thus born under the great Bruce, he had lived through the reigns of David II. and Robert II., and five years of Robert III.

Some stray notices of Barbour in other connections add nothing of importance. One, however, lets us know that he was responsible for the loss of a volume on law from the

library of his cathedral.

We have really learned nothing as to the personality of the poet. That he was a keen student and a great reader as well as a trustworthy official, and stood high in the royal favour, may be inferred. The respectful and admiring references of Wyntoun and Bower attest his high reputation as a writer and authority on history. But The Bruce of itself would suggest neither the cleric nor the accountant. His pious reflections would be commonplaces even for a lay writer, and his handling of figures is not in any way distinctive. Even of Scotland in the background we get but casual, fleeting glimpses. Barbour is occupied entirely with his heroes and their performances. It is these he undertakes to celebrate, not. primarily, even the great cause which called them forth; and personal loyalty is his master virtue. That he so conceived and developed his subject, his hurried passage from incident to incident, his grim, practical humour, his impatience of inaction or commonplace achievement, his actively descriptive vocabulary, and his vivid realization of the details of movement and conflict—all contribute to the impression of a man of lively, energetic temperament, with a delight in action and

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;His theme was Freedom," writes Mr. Cosmo Innes. Barbour gives out his "theme" in the first thirty-six lines, and never once mentions it.

the concrete, and so, as his time and circumstances would

make him, an amateur and idealist of chivalry.

Besides The Bruce, Wyntoun credits Barbour with The Stewartis Oryginalle, a metrical genealogy starting from "Sere Dardane, lord de Frygya" (!), which has not survived.¹ Skeat has also suggested, basing on certain references by Wyntoun, that Barbour wrote a Brut on the mythical colonization of Britain by Brutus, but the inference is disputed by Mr. Brown,<sup>2</sup> and Wyntoun's language is too vague for a definite opinion. On better grounds there has been attributed to him a Trojan War or Troy Book, portions of which have been used to fill up gaps in a MS. of Lydgate's Siege with the rubric, "Here endis Barbour and begynnis the monk," and again conversely. An independent MS. gives a larger number of lines in continuation. These fragments have been subjected to close linguistic and metrical criticism by P. Buss in Anglia, ix., pp. 493-514, and by E. Koeppel in Englische Studien, x., pp. 373-382, and their reasoning on differences of verbal and grammatical usages has been summarized by Skeat,3 who concurs with their conclusion against Barbour's authorship. But there are other elements of evidence, and the sceptical discussion of Medea's alleged astronomical powers with the affirmation.

> Bot na gude Cristene mane her-to Sulde gif credence—that I defend,4

is significantly similar to the argumentation on astrology in The

<sup>1</sup> The editor of The Exchequer Rolls, vol. ii. p. cv., says: "Bower accuses Barbour of misrepresenting the origin of the Stewarts." That is not so. According to the summary in Bower, Barbour had it that they came from Wales, and in fact the family was settled in Shropshire on the Welsh March. It had its origin, he said, from one who was called "Le Fleanc de Waran," who may equate with Alan FitzFlaald, who, however, apparently did not marry a daughter of Warine, the sheriff of that county (Round, Studies in the Peerage, p. 116). He affirms, rightly enough, that the first of them in Scotland was Walter, in the days of King William (twelfth century). Where he goes wrong genealogically, according to Bower, is in saying that Walter's son, Alan, was in the First Crusade, which was obviously impossible; but Alan FitzAlan, uncle of Alan Fitz-Flaald, was in that expedition. Barbour was dealing with remote personages through family tradition, and whatever his errors as represented by Bower, he does not appear, as is too lightly assumed, to have been the source of the myths of later historians in this connection. Bower's language does not admit of a Banquo. See Cupar and Perth MSS., in Scotichronicon, Lib. IX., chap. xlviii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Wallace and The Bruce, pp. 88-90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Preface I., xlix-lii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Edit. Horstmann, ii., p. 226.

Bruce, Bk. IV. 706 to end.¹ Faced with the plain statement of the fifteenth-century scribe, Skeat can only suggest that the poem was not by our Barbour, but by another person of the same name—surely the extremity of destructive literary criticism. And every argument of the German scholars against the Troy fragments would clinch the case for Barbour's claims on the Alexander, with which I deal elsewhere. The garrulous and dreary Legends of the Saints probably contain, at least, contributions by Barbour; even Buss admits peculiar features in the St. Ninian,² and St. Machar is a purely Aberdeen worthy, in whom the poet, too, professes a special interest; these may well have come from Barbour's pen as the uncongenial but meritorious labour of his old age. Such, at any rate, was the normal progress of a poetic clerk, from translation to original work, to decline at the close upon versions of saintly biographies.

### 3. HISTORIC VALUE OF "THE BRUCE."

A comparison of judgments on the value of *The Bruce* as a contribution to history plunges us into a thicket of contradictions. Green's verdict that it is "historically worthless" is but a petulant aside. It repeats itself, however, in the pronouncement of Mr. Brown that "in no true sense is it an historical document," but Mr. Brown selects, as illustrative of this, examples, such as the Simon Fraser identification, and the Stanhope Park inference, which recoil to the confusion of the critic. Mr. Cosmo Innes has sought to discriminate, unfortunately upon wrong lines. Of Barbour as

<sup>1</sup> See further, Neilson's John Barbour, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Anglia, as cited. <sup>3</sup> Short History, p. 211.

4 The Wallace and The Bruce, p. 93. 5 See on II. 239.

6 XIX. 486.

7 An article on Barbour's Bruce in the Saturday Review, 1872, vol. xxxiii., p. 90, has all the marks of the "belabouring" method of Professor Freeman. Barbour's "historical value," it is affirmed, "is as low as value can be," and there are intermittent shrieks of "shameless falsehood," "conscious liar," etc. The usual play is made with the supposed identification of the two Bruces, and it is declared that on this "the whole story hangs," which, in its own way, is a statement just as unwarranted and absurd. It is easy to fix on the error as to Edward being in the Holy Land when the question arose as to the succession, and the antedating of his death. But the critic, with full opportunity for being correct, can sin as to dates quite as egregiously. "In authentic history," he says, "somewhat more than three years passed between the death of Alexander III. in Lent, 1289, and the coronation of John Balliol on St. Andrew's Day, 1292." Quite wrong. In "authentic history" Alexander was killed on March 19, 1286 (1285 by old reckoning). This is a criticism of Barbour's "six years" in I. 39! He objects to the statement that the Queen was put "in prison," because she was entertained in one of her husband's manors. But she is

historian, he writes: "Satisfied to have real persons and events, and an outline of history for his guide, and to preserve the true character of things, he did not trouble himself about accuracy of detail." As it happens, it is just in his outlinethat is, in his dates and succession of events-that Barbour may be adjudged most careless; his details contain the most remarkable examples of his accuracy. The latest expression of opinion on this head is not even self-consistent. Cambridge History of English Literature it is thus written of The Bruce: first, that "it is in no real sense a history . . . though, strange to say, it has been regarded from his own time to this as, in all details, a trustworthy source for the history of the period "-a clear exaggeration; 2 and then a few pages farther on: "While Barbour's narrative contains a certain amount of anecdotal matter derived from tradition, and, on some occasions, deviates from the truth of history, it is, on the whole, moderate, truthful, and historical"3-which is quite another pair of sleeves.

The fact is that these wayward judgments rest upon too narrow a basis of induction, and that induction, too, usually irrelevant or uncertain-considerations as to the nature of Romance, Barbour's literary awkwardness and literary dressing. with inadequate examination of the external evidence. But if Barbour professes to write history, as he does profess, and as he gives every evidence of honestly trying to do, he can surely claim to be tried by the appropriate tests—those of official records or other contemporary accounts, and, in the last resource, by his performance so far as these carry us, and by an estimate of the probable sources of what is peculiar to himself. Nor must the quality of his critical equipment be overlooked; he frankly lets us know that of certain incidents different versions were in circulation—some said that the fatal quarrel between Bruce and Comvn fell otherwise than as he has related, and he includes the divergent accounts of how Bruce and his man escaped the hound; and there are other matters for which, lacking certainty himself, he is content to cite popular report. Towards prevailing and attractive super-

always officially spoken of as "in custody," and the stone walls of a manor even make a good enough prison. This is mere carping, and most of the rest is of the same sort, where it does not depend on a forcing or misunderstanding of the text. Barbour, he complains, makes the difference between Bruce and Balliol "one between male and female succession." So, in a sense, it was (see on I. 54), but the critic has not taken the trouble to understand how. Barbour, however, is certainly confusing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Brus, Spalding Club edition, 1856, p. ix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Vol. ii., p. 104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P. 108.

stitions, necromancy, astrology, and the like, his attitude is bluntly sceptical; yet an apparently well-attested case of prophecy—not one, it must be owned, exhibiting any exceptional degree of penetration—he does record, with very distinct reservation of judgment.¹ There is no supernatural machinery in *The Bruce*, no visions, miraculous agencies, or other such distractions: for these we must go to sober prose. But such is not the manner of popular romance with which it has been usual to class the manner of *The Bruce*. Barbour is not writing a conventional romance with historic persons and incidents for his material; he is writing history which has all the qualities of romance in real life. Of the same type were the exploits of Edward Bruce, which of themselves, he says, would furnish material for many romances.²

So comes it, then, that a careful and most competent investigator like Joseph Bain can authoritatively pronounce *The Bruce* to be "of the highest value for the period," and affirm that "in these details he is almost always correct, with occasional errors in names." Barbour's errors, indeed, lie on the surface, and are typical of his time, not wilful perversions on his part—events are transposed, wrong dates given, figures almost always exaggerated. On the other side a study of the notes to the present volume will show how trustworthy he is in the main, and, repeatedly, how strikingly and minutely accurate. His profession to tell a truthful story, so far as his knowledge will take him, must be accepted as fully borne out.

Moreover the reflection is forced upon us at many points that, in addition to the oral accounts of which he makes use, those of actual participators like Sir Allan of Cathcart, and John Thomson for the Irish campaigns, besides relations and reminiscences otherwise derived, Barbour had various contemporary writings at his command. Such was certainly the case with Sir Thomas Gray, who wrote, a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, twenty years before. His Scalacronica embodies the results of research in the library of his prison where he found Scottish chronicles in verse and prose, in Latin, French, and English, and he expressly refers to such chronicles in his account of Bruce, letting us know that there was in existence

<sup>1</sup> Bk. IV. 767-774. Contempt for astrology, indeed, had already gone pretty far—Chaucer's Franklin has it (F.s' Tale); but the contrary opinion still held most ground, and prophecy was in the enjoyment of full respect. Theological authority was divided and uncertain on the matter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Calendar of Documents, vol. iii., p. ix, note. Book I. is a hasty introduction.

4 lbid.

a description of the Battle of Bannockburn, and, incidentally, that Barbour even has not exhausted the fund of stories of adventure told of the fugitive King. More curious and suggestive is the citation, in the bye-going, by Jean le Bel, Canon of Liège, of a "history made by the said King Robert" (en hystoire faitte par le dit roy Robert), that is the King Robert whom, he tells us, Edward I. had chased by hounds in the forests. It is an allowable inference that these accessible materials were known to the learned and inquiring Barbour, when he took to deal with a subject familiar to him from his earliest years, and so congenial to his instincts, literary and national.

It is worth noting that Sir Walter Scott, on the publication of the Lord of the Isles, which draws so handsomely upon The Bruce, was accused of a lack of proper patriotism, meaning the pungent and rather aggressive patriotism of a long-irritated Scotland distinctive of *The Wallace* and certain subsequent productions, but not of The Bruce, the spirit of which, too, was in harmony with that of the great reviver of romance. There is no malice in The Bruce; the malice and bitterness are in the contemporary war-literature of the other side. And Barbour is no sentimentalist; his patriotism is not pretentious or exclusive, nor such as leads him to depreciate an opponent, and is therefore not a distorting influence on facts, as Mr. Henderson postulates it must have been.<sup>2</sup> It is not possible to point to a single error on Barbour's part which is fairly traceable to this cause. And his faults and errors, such as they are, may be paralleled over and over again from the most reputable of that century's historians, to say nothing of those who, in later times, had to weave their web from less tangled and broken material.

<sup>1</sup> Chronique, I., chap. xxii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Scottish Vernacular Literature, p. 43.



### THE BRUCE

### BOOK I.

STORYS to rede ar delitabill,
Suppos that thai be nocht bot fabill:
Than suld storys that suthfast wer,
And thai war said on gud maner,
Have doubill plesance in heryng.
The fyrst plesance is the carpyng,
And the tothir the suthfastnes
That schawys the thing rycht as it wes:
And suth thyngis that ar likand

- Tyll mannys heryng ar plesand.
  Tharfor I wald fayne set my will,
  Giff my wyt mycht suffice thartill,
  To put in wryt a suthfast story,
  That it lest ay furth in memory,
- 15 Swa that na tyme of lenth it let, Na ger it haly be forget. For aulde storys that men redys, Representis to thaim the dedys Of stalwart folk that lyvyt ar,
- 20 Rycht as thai than in presence war. And certis, thai suld weill have prys That in thar tyme war wycht and wys,

15. S following H reads lenth of tyme, characterising the expression in E "an obvious error." But cf. analogous phrase in line 531, and see note.

And led thar lyff in gret travaill, And oft, in hard stour off bataill,

- 25 Wan richt gret price off chevalry, And war voydyt off cowardy. As wes King Robert off Scotland, That hardy wes off hart and hand; And gud Schyr James off Douglas,
- That in his tyme sa worthy was,
  That off hys price and hys bounte,
  In fer landis renownyt wes he.
  Off thaim I thynk this buk to ma:
  Now God gyff grace that I may swa
- Tret it, and bryng it till endyng,
  That I say nocht bot suthfast thing!

## How the Lords of Scotland took the King of England to be Arbiter at the last,

UHEN Alexander the King was deid, That Scotland haid to steyr and leid,

The land sex yher, and mayr perfay, 40 Lay desolat eftyr hys day;

Till that the barnage at the last Assemblyt thaim, and fayndyt fast To cheys a king thar land to ster,

That, off awncestry, cummyn wer
45 Off kingis that aucht that reawte,
And mayst had rycht thair king to be.

Bot envy, that is sa feloune, Maid amang thaim discencioun. For sum wald haiff the Balleoll king;

50 For he wes cummyn off the offspryng Off hyr that eldest systir was. And othir sum nyt all that cas; And said, that he thair king suld be That wes in als nere degre,

55 And cummyn wes of the neist male, And in branch collaterale.

48. E inserts gret before discensions, but W and H omit, 54, 55. E gives war and so in J: but wes from W is preferable. For als nere (W) E has alsner.

Thai said, successioun of kyngrik Was nocht to lawer feys lik; For thar mycht succed na female,

60 Quhill foundyn mycht be ony male
That were in lyne evyn descendand;
Thai bar all othir wayis on hand,
For than the neyst cummyn off the seid,
Man or woman, suld succeid.

65 Be this resoun that part thocht hale, That the lord off Anandyrdale, Robert the Bruys Erle off Carryk, Aucht to succeid to the kynryk. The barownys thus war at discord,

70 That on na maner mycht accord;
Till at the last thai all concordyt,
That all thar spek suld be recordyt
Till Schyr Edward off Ingland King;
And he suld swer that, but fenyheyng,

75 He suld that arbytre disclar,
Off thir twa that I tauld off ar,
Ouhilk sulde succeid to sic a hycht;
And lat him ryng that had the rycht.
This ordynance thaim thocht the best,

80 For at that tyme wes pes and rest
Betwyx Scotland and Ingland bath;
And thai couth nocht persave the skaith
That towart thaim wes apperand;
For that at the King off Ingland

85 Held swylk freyndschip and cumpany To thar King, that wes swa worthy, Thai trowyt that he, as gud nychtbur, And as freyndsome compositur, Wald have jugyt in lawte:

90 Bot othir wayis all yheid the gle. A! blynd folk full off all foly! Haid yhe umbethoucht yhow enkrely,

<sup>61.</sup> From H. E has How that in his evyn descendand, which does not make sense. W gives That be lyne war dissendand, which halts metrically. See note.

<sup>77.</sup> Sulde in W. E omits.

Quhat perell to yhow mycht apper, Yhe had nocht wrocht on that maner:

95 Haid yhe tane keip how at that King Alwayis, for-owtyn sojournyng,
Travayllyt for to wyn senyhory,
And, throw his mycht, till occupy
Landis that war till him marcheand,

roo As Walis was, and als Ireland;
That he put to swylk thrillage,
That thai that war off hey parage
Suld ryn on fute, as rebaldaill,
Quhen he wald ony folk assaill.

Na yhet, fra evyn fell, abyd Castell or wallyt toune with-in, That he ne suld lyff and lymmys tyne. In-to swilk thrillage thaim held he,

Yhe mycht se he suld occupy
Throw slycht, that he ne mycht throw maistri.
Had yhe tane kep quhat was thrillag,
And had consideryt his usage,

Yhe suld, for-owtyn his demyng,
Haiff chosyn yhow a king, that mycht
Have haldyn weyle the land in rycht.
Walys ensample mycht have bene

120 To yhow, had yhe it forow sene.
And wys men sayis he is happy
That be othir will him chasty.
For unfayr thingis may fall, perfay,
Als weill to-morn as yhisterday.

125 Bot yhe traistyt in lawte,
As sympile folk, but mavyte;
And wyst nocht quhat suld eftir tyd.
For in this warld, that is sa wyde,
Is nane determynat that sall

129. Skeat adopts determinatly from H, with the meaning "certainly." But this reading cumbers the metre; and Barbour's word to this effect is "certis."

130 Knaw thingis that ar for to fall: But God, that is off maist poweste, Reservyt till his majeste For to knaw, in his prescience, Off alkyn tyme the mowence.

135 ON this maner assentyt war
The barownis, as I said yhow ar:
And through thar aller hale assent,
Messingeris till hym thai sent,
That was than in the haly land,

And fra he wyst quhat charge that had, He buskyt hym, but mar abad, And left purpos that he had tane; And till Ingland agayne is gayne.

I45 And syne till Scotland word send he,
That thai suld mak ane assemble;
And he in hy suld cum to do
In all thing, as thai wrayt him to.

But he thoucht weile, throuch thar debate, 150 That he suld slely fynd the gate
How that he all the senyhowry,
Throw his gret mycht, suld occupy.
And to Robert the Bruys said he:

"Gyff thow will hald in cheyff off me

"For evirmar, and thine ofspryng,
"I sall do swa thou sall be king."
'Schyr,' said he, 'sa God me save,
'The kynryk yharn I nocht to have,
'Bot gyff it fall off rycht to me:

160 'And gyff God will that it sa be,
'I sall als frely in all thing

'Hald it, as it afferis to king; 'Or as myn eldris forouch me

'Held it in freyast rewate.

165 The tothir wreythyt him, and swar That he suld have it nevir mar:

130. For is from W and H. E omits.

6

And turnyt him in wreth away.
Bot Schyr Jhon the Balleoll, perfay,
Assentyt till him, in all his will;
170 Quhar-throuch fell eftir mekill ill.
He was king bot a litill quhile;
And throuch gret sutelte and ghyle,
For litill enchesone, or nane,
He was arestyt syne and tane,
175 And degradyt syne wes he
Off honour and off dignite.
Quhethir it wes throuch wrang or rycht,
God wat it, that is maist off mycht.

UHEN Schyr Edward, the mychty king, Had on this wys done his likyng Off Ihone the Balleoll, that swa sone Was all defawtyt and undone, To Scotland went he than in hy, And all the land gan occupy: 185 Sa hale, that bath castell and toune War in-till his possessioune, Fra Weik anent Orknay, To Mullyr-snuk in Gallaway; And stuffyt all with Inglis men. 190 Schyrreffys and bailyheys maid he then; And alkyn other officeris, That for to govern land afferis, He maid off Inglis nation; That worthyt than sa ryth fellone, 195 And sa wykkyt and covatous, And swa hawtane and dispitous, That Scottis men mycht do na thing That evir mycht pleys to thar liking. Thar wyffis wald that oft forly, 200 And thar dochtrys dispitusly: And gyff ony thar-at war wrath, Thai watyt hym wele with gret scaith;

For that suld fynd sone enchesone To put hym to destructione.

(

205 And gyff that ony man thaim by
Had ony thing that wes worthy,
As hors, or hund, or othir thing,
That plesand war to thar liking,
With rycht or wrang it have wald thai.

210 And gyf ony wald thaim withsay,
Thai suld swa do, that thai suld tyne
Othir land or lyff, or leyff in pyne.
For thai dempt thaim eftir thar will,
Takand na kep to rycht na skill.

For gud knychtis that war worthy, For litill enchesoune or than nane, Thai hangyt be the nekbane. Alas that folk, that evir wes fre,

220 And in fredome wount for to be,
Throw thar gret myschance and foly,
War tretyt than sa wykkytly,
That thar fays thar jugis war:
Quhat wrechitnes may man have mar?

Fredome is a noble thing!
Fredome mays man to haiff liking;
Fredome all solace to man giffis:
He levys at es that frely levys.
A noble hart may haiff nane es,

230 Na ellys nocht that may him ples, Gyff fredome failyhe: for fre liking Is yharnyt our all othir thing. Na he, that ay has levyt fre, May nocht knaw weill the propyrte,

The angyr, na the wrechyt dome,
That is cowplyt to foule thyrldome.
Bot gyff he had assayit it,
Than all perquer he suld it wyt;
And suld think fredome mar to prys,

240 Than all the gold in warld that is. Thus contrar thingis evir-mar, Discoveryngis off the tothir ar.

218. S nek[ke]bane.

And he that thryll is has nocht his; All that he has enbandownyt is

245 Till hys lord, quhat-evir he be. Yheyt has he nocht sa mekill fre As fre liking to leyve, or do

That at hys hart hym drawis to. Than mays clerkis questioun,

250 Quhen thai fall in disputacioun, That gyff man bad his thryll owcht do, And in the sampn tym come him to His wyff, and askyt hym hyr det, Quhethir he his lordis neid suld let,

255 And pay fryst that he awcht, and syne Do furth his lordis commandyne; Or leve onpayit his wyff, and do It that commaundyt is him to?

I leve all the solucioun

260 Till thaim that ar off mar renoun. Bot sen thai mek sic comperyng Betwix the dettis off wedding, And lordis bidding till his threll,

Yhe may weile se, thought nane yhow tell,

265 How hard a thing that threldome is. For men may weile se, that ar wys, That wedding is the hardest band, That ony man may tak on hand: And thryldome is weill wer than deid:

270 For quhill a thryll his lyff may leid, It merrys him, body and banys; And dede anoyis him bot anys. Schortly to say, is nane can tell The halle condicioun off a threll.

"HUS-GAT levyt thai, and in sic thrillage: Bath pur, and thai off hey parage. For off the lordis sum thai slew, And sum thai hangyt, and sum thai drew;

247. Liking from H. E has wyll, which leaves the line metrically short of a syllable.

258. It from H. E has Thai thingis, which turns the line into prose.

And sum that put in hard presoune, 280 For-owtyn caus or enchesoun. And, amang othir, off Dowglas Put in presoun Sir Wilyham was, That off Dowglas was lord and syr; Off him that makyt a martyr.

285 Fra thai in presoune him sleuch,
Hys landis, that war fayr inewch,
Thai to the lord off Clyffurd gave.
He had a sone, a litill knave,
That wes than bot a litill page.

290 Bot syne he wes off gret vaslage;
Hys fadyr dede he vengyt sua,
That in Ingland, I underta,
Wes nane off lyve that hym ne dred;
For he sa fele off harnys sched,

295 That nane that lyvys thaim can tell.
Bot wondirly hard thingis fell
Till him, or he till state wes brocht.
Thair wes nane aventur that mocht
Stunay hys hart, na ger him let

300 To do the thing he wes on set;
For he thocht ay encrely
To do his deid avysily.
He thocht weill he wes worth na seyle,
That mycht of nane anoyis feyle;

305 And als for till escheve gret thingis, And hard travalyis, and barganyngis, That suld ger his price dowblyt be. Quharfor, in all hys lyve-tyme, he Wes in gret payn, et gret travaill;

310 And nevir wald for myscheiff faill,

279. Hard from W improves the line. It is not given in E or H. 286. So Skeat reads, following H. E has land that is, which is clearly wrong. Cf. line 316.

287. To from H. E omits.

300. E has thing that, but H omits as here; the line then goes more smoothly.

309. Et or  $\acute{e}$  is clearly a Latin rendering of '&'=and; a scribal error.

Bot dryve the thing rycht to the end, And tak the ure that God wald send. Hys name wes James of Douglas: And guhen he heard his fadir was

315 Put in presoune sa fellounly, And at his landis halvly War gevyn to the Clyffurd, perfay He wyst nocht quhat to do na say; For he had na thing to dispend,

320 Na thar wes nane that evir him kend Wald do sa mekill for him, that he Mycht sufficiently fundyn be. Than wes he wondir will off wane; And sodanly in hart has tane,

325 That he wald travaile our the se, And a quhile in Parys be, And dre myscheiff guhar nane hym kend, Till God sum succouris till hym send. And as he thouht he did rycht sua.

330 And sone to Parys can he ga; And levyt thar full sympylly. The-quhethir he glaid was and joly; And till swylk thowlesnes he yheid, As the cours askis off yhowtheid;

335 And umquhill in-to rybbaldaill: And that may mony tyme availl. For knawlage off mony statis May quhile availyhe full mony gatis;

As to the gud Erle off Artayis 340 Robert, befell in-till his dayis.

For oft feynyheyng off rybbaldy Availyheit him, and that gretly. And Catone sayis us, in his wryt, That to fenyhe foly quhile is wyt.

345 In Parys ner thre yher duellyt he; And then come tythandis our the se, That his fadyr wes done to ded

> 319. E has for to. H omits. 344. H omits that, and S follows.

Then wes he wa, and will of red;
And thocht that he wald hame agayne,
350 To luk gyff he, throw ony payn,
Mycht wyn agayn his heritage,
And his men out off all thryllage.

## The First Rising of Lord Douglas.

To Sanct Androws he come in hy,
Quhar the byschop full curtasly
355 Resavyt him, and gert him wer
His knyvys forouch him to scher;
And cled him rycht honorabilly,
And gert ordayn quhar he suld ly.
A weile gret quhile thar duellyt he;
360 All men lufyt him for his bounte;
For he wes off full fayr effer,
Wys, curtais, and deboner;
Larg and luffand als wes he,
And our all thing luffyt lawte.

- 365 Leaute to luff is gretumly;
  Throuch leaute liffs men rychtwisly:
  With a vertu of leaute
  A man may yheit sufficyand be:
  And but leawte may nane haiff price,
  370 Quhethir he be wycht, or he be wys;
  For quhar it failyheys, na vertu
  May be off price, na off valu,
  To mak a man sa gud that he
  May symply callyt gud man be.
- 375 He wes in all his dedis lele;
  For him dedeynyheit nocht to dele
  With trechery, na with falset.
  His hart on hey honour wes set:
  And hym contenyt on sic maner,
  380 That all him luffyt that war him ner.

Bot he wes nocht so fayr, that we Suld spek gretly off his beaute:

In vysage wes he sumdeill gray, And had blak har, as Ic hard say;

385 Bot off lymmys he wes weill maid, With banys gret, and schuldrys braid. His body wes weyll maid and lenye, As thai that saw hym said to me. Quhen he wes blyth he wes lufly,

390 And meyk and sweyt in cumpany:
Bot quha in battail mycht him se
All other contenance had he.
And in spek wlispyt he sum deill;
Bot that sat him rycht wondre weill.

395 Till gud Ector of Troy mycht he
In mony thingis liknyt be.
Ector had blak har, as he had,
And stark lymmys, and rycht weill maid;
And wlyspit alsua as did he,

400 And wes fulfillyt of leawte,
And wes curtais and wys and wycht.
Bot off manheid and mekill mycht,
Till Ector dar I nane comper
Off all that evir in warldys wer.

405 The-quhethyr in his tyme sa wrocht he, That he suld gretly lovyt be.

H<sup>E</sup> duellyt thar, quhill on a tid, The King Edward, with mekill prid, Come to Strevillyne with gret mengyhe,

410 For till hald thar ane assemble.
Thiddirwart went mony baroune;
Byschop Wylyhame off Lambyrtoun
Raid thiddyr als, and with him was
This squyer James of Dowglas.

415 The byschop led him to the King, And said: "Schyr, heyr I to yhow bryng "This child, that clemys yhour man to be;

"And prayis yhow par cheryte,
"That yhe resave her his homage,

420 "And grantis him his heritage."

"Quhat landis clemys he?' said the King. "Schyr, giff that it be yhour liking,

"He clemys the lordschip off Douglas; "For lord tharoff hys fadir was."

And said; 'Schyr byschop, sekyrly 'Gyff thow wald kep thi-fewte, 'Thow maid nane sic speking to me.

'Hys fadyr ay wes my fay feloune,

430 'And deyt tharfor in my presoun;
'And wes agayne my majeste:
'Tharfor hys ayr I aucht to be.
'Ga purches land quhar-evir he may,

Ga purches land quhar-evir he may, For tharoff haffys he nane, perfay:

'The Cliffurd sall thaim haiff, for he 'Ay lely has servyt to me.'
The byschop hard him swa ansuer,
And durst than spek till him na mar;
Bot fra his presence went in hy,

440 For he dred sayr his felouny:
Swa that he na mar spak tharto.
The King did that he com to do;
And went till Ingland syn agayn,
With mony man off mekyll mayn.

## The Scots are likened to the Holy Maccabees.

ORDINGIS, quha likis for till her,
The Romanys now begynnys her,
Off men that war in gret distres,
And assayit full gret hardynes,
Or thai mycht cum till thar entent:

450 Bot syne our Lord sic grace thaim sent,
That thai syne, throw thar gret valour,
Come till gret hycht, and till honour,
Magre thair fayis evirilkane,
That war sa fele, that ay for ane

455 Off thaim thai war weill a thowsand.
Bot quhar God helpys quhat may withstand?
Bot, and we say the suthfastnes,
Thai war sum tyme erar may then les.

428. H mak, which seems more likely.

Bot God that maist is of all mycht,
460 Preservyt thaim in his forsycht,
To veng the harme and the contrer,
At that fele folk and pautener
Dyd till sympill folk and worthy,
That couth nocht help thaim self: for-thi,

465 Thai war lik to the Machabeys,
That, as men in the Bibill seys,
Throw thair gret worschip and valour,
Fawcht in-to mony stalwart stour,
For to delyvir thar countre

470 Fra folk that, throw iniquite,
Held thaim and thairis in thrillage:
Thai wrocht sua throw thar vasselage,
That, with few folk, thai had victory
Off mychty kingis, as sayis the story,

475 And delyveryt thar land all fre; Quharfor thar name suld lovyt be.

THYS lord the Bruys, I spak of ayr,
Saw all the kynryk swa forfayr;
And swa trowblyt the folk saw he,
480 That he tharoff had gret pitte.
Bot quhat pite that evir he had,
Na contenance thar-off he maid;
Till, on a tym, Schyr Jhone Cumyn,
As thai come ridand fra Strevillyn,

485 Said till him; "Schir, will yhe nocht se, "How that governyt is this countre?

"Thai sla our folk but enchesoune,
"And haldis this land agayne resoune,

"And yhe tharoff full suld lord be.

490 "And gyff that yhe will trow to me,
"Ye sall ger mak yhow tharoff king,
"And I sall be in yhour helping;

"With-thi yhe giff me all the land" That be haiff now in till yhour hand:

495 "And gyff that yhe will nocht do sua,
"Na swylk a state upon yow ta,
489. Full is from Wyntoun. E omits.

"All hale my land sall yhouris be; "And lat me ta the state on me, "And bring this land out off thyrllage. 500 "For thar is nothir man na page, "In all this land that ne sall be "Fayn to mak thaim-selvyn fre." The lord the Bruis hard his carping, And wend he spak bot suthfast thing. 505 And, for it likit till his will, He gave sone his assent thartill: And said, 'Sen yhe will it be swa, 'I will blythly apon me ta 'The state, for I wate I have rycht; 510 'And rycht mays oft the feble wycht.'

THE barownys thus accordyt ar; And that ilk nycht than writyn war Thair endenturis, and aythis maid To hald that thai forspokyn haid. 515 Bot off all thing wa worth tresoun! For thar is nothir duk ne baroun, Na erle, na prynce, na king off mycht, Thocht he be nevir sa wys na wycht, For wyt, worschip, price, na renoun, 520 That evir may wauch hym with tresoune. Wes nocht all Troy with tresoune tane, Quhen ten yheris of the wer wes gane? Then slayn wes mone thowsand Off thaim with-owt, throw strenth of hand; 525 As Dares in his buk he wrate, And Dytis, that knew all thar state. Thai mycht nocht haiff beyn tane throw mycht, Bot tresoun tuk thaim throw hyr slycht.

501. E has than thai, which is obscure. Wyntoun gives that thaiy

ne (S): thaiy seems superfluous.
506. E and S have his assent sone: Wyntoun as above, which preserves the correct accentuation of assent.

509. E reads and S adopts wate that.

511. Wyntoun has Thus thir twa lordis. 512. Than is from Wyntoun. S following E omits.

And Alexander the Conqueroure,
530 That conqueryt Babilonys tour,
And all this warld off lenth and breid,
In twelf yher, throw his douchty deid,
Wes syne destroyit throw pusoune,
In his awyne hows, throw gret tresoune.
535 Bot or he doit his land delt he:

535 Bot, or he deit, his land delt he:
To se his dede wes gret pite.
Julius Cesar als, that wan
Bretane and Fraunce, as dowchty man,
Affryk, Arrabe, Egipt, Surry,

540 And all Europe halyly;
And for his worschip and valour
Off Rome wes fryst maid emperour;
Syne in hys capitole wes he,
Throw thaim of his consaill prive,

545 Slayne with punsoune, rycht to the ded:
And quhen he saw thair wes na rede,
Hys eyn with his hand closit he,
For to dey with mar honeste.
Als Arthur, that throw chevalry

550 Maid Bretane maistres and lady Off twelf kinrykis that he wan; And alsua, as a noble man, He wan throw bataill Fraunce all fre; And Lucius Yber vencusyt he,

555 That then of Rome was emperour:
Bot yheit, for all his gret valour,
Modreyt his systir son him slew;
And gud men als ma then inew,
Throw tresoune and throw wikkitnes;

560 The Broite beris tharoff wytnes. Sa fell off this conand-making: For the Cumyn raid to the King Off Ingland, and tald all this cas; Bot, I trow, nocht all as it was.

565 Bot the endentur till him gaf he, That soune schawyt the iniquite: Quharfor syne he tholyt ded; Than he couth set tharfor na rede. 570 UHEN the King saw the endentur,
He was angry out of mesur,
And swour that he suld vengeance ta
Off that Bruys, that presumyt swa
Aganys him to brawle or rys,
Or to conspyr on sic a wys.

575 And to Schyr Jhon Cumyn said he, That he suld, for his leawte, Be rewardyt, and that hely: And he him thankit humyly. Than thocht he to have the leding

580 Off all Scotland, but gane-saying, Fra at the Bruce to dede war brocht. Bot oft failyheis the fulis thocht; And wys mennys etling Cummys nocht ay to that ending

585 That that think it sall cum to;
For God wate weill quhat is to do.
Off hys etlyng rycht swa it fell,
As I sall efterwartis tell.
He tuk his leve, and hame is went;

590 And the King a parlyament Gert set thareftir hastely; And thidder somownys he in hy The barownys of his reawte. And to the lord the Bruce send he

595 Bydding to come to that gadryng.
And he that had na persavyng
Off the tresoun, na the falset,
Raid to the King but langir let;
And in Lundon hym herberyd he

600 The fyrst day off thar assemble;
Syn on the morn to court he went.
The Kyng sat into parleament;
And forouch hys consaile prive,
The lord the Bruce than callyt he,

605 And schawyt hym the endentur. He wes in full gret aventur

604. E and S thar: Wyntoun than.

To tyne his lyff; bot God of mycht Preservyt him till hyer hycht, That wald nocht that he swa war dede.

610 The King betaucht hym in that steid
The endentur, the seile to se,
The askyt, gyff it enselyt he?
He lukyit the seyle ententily,
And answeryt till hym humyly,

615 And sayd; "How that I sympill be,
"My seyle is nocht all tyme with me;

"Ik have ane othir it to ber.

"Tharfor giff that yhour willis wer,

"Ic ask yhow respyt for to se

620 "This lettir, and avysit be,

"Till to morn that yhe be set:
"And then, for-owtyn langir let,

"This lettir sall I entyr heyr,

"Befor all yhour consaill planer; 625 "And thair-till in-to bourch draw I

"Myn herytage all halily."

The King thocht he wes traist inewch,
Sen he in bowrch hys landis drewch;
And let hym with the lettir passe,

630 Till entyr it, as for-spokin was.

#### BOOK II.

## How the Bruce avoided King Edward's Deceit.

THE Bruys went till his innys swyth;
Bot, wyt yhe weile, he wes full blyth,
That he had gottyn that respyt.
He callit his marschall till him tyt,
And bad him luk on all maner,
That he ma till his men gud cher;

620. E and S have and tharwith: Wyntoun omits tharwith. 625. E and S give boruch (boruch), but Wyntoun has it as above, and it so appears in line 628. Skeat's Glossary is at variance with his text: he refers boruch to 628 also.

For he wald in his chambre be A weill gret quhile in private, With him a clerk for-owtyn ma.

- The marschell till the hall gan ga, And did hys lordys commanding. The lord the Bruce, but mar letting, Gert prively bryng stedys twa. He and the clerk, for-owtyn ma,
- 15 Lap on, for-owtyn persavyng:
  And day and nycht, but sojournyng,
  Thai raid; quhill, on the fyften day,
  Cummyn till Louchmaban ar thai.
  Hys brodyr Edward thar thai fand,
- 20 That thocht ferly, Ic tak on hand, That thai come hame sa prively: He tauld hys brodyr halyly, How that he thar soucht was, And how he chapyt wes throw cas.

#### Here John Comyn and Others are Slain in the Friars' Kirk.

- 25 Sa fell it in the samyn tid, That at Dumfres, rycht thar besid, Schir Jhone the Cumyn sojornyng maid; The Brus lap on and thiddir raid; And thocht, for-owtyn mar letting,
- 30 For to quyt hym his discoveryng.
  Thiddir he raid, but langir let,
  And with Schyr Jhone the Cumyn met,
  In the Freris, at the hye awter,
  And schawyt him, with lauchand cher,
- 35 The endentur; syne with a knyff, Rycht in that sted, hym reft the lyff. Schyr Edmund Cumyn als wes slayn, And othir mony off mekill mayn.

<sup>23.</sup> Wyntoun gives—reversing the lines—How before all happyd was, from which Skeat suggests as an improvement on 23 How that before al happyd was.

<sup>34.</sup> Wyntoun gives hevy chere; but see note.

<sup>38.</sup> For mony S reads als from H.

Nocht-for-thi yheit sum men sayis,
40 At that debat fell othir wayis;
But quhat sa evyr maid the debate,
Thar-throuch he deyt, weill I wat.
He mysdyd thar gretly, but wer,
That gave na gyrth to the awter.
45 Tharfor sa hard myscheiff him fell,
That Ik herd nevir in romanys tell

That Ik herd nevir in romanys tell
Off man sa hard frayit as wes he,
That eftirwart com to sic bounte.

## Here the King of England seeks for Robert Bruce, but does not find Him.

NoW agayne to the King ga we,
That on the morn, with his barne,
Sat in-till his parlement;
And eftyr the lord the Bruys he sent,
Rycht till his in, with knychtis kene.
Quhen he oft tyme had callit bene,

55 And his men eftir him askit thai,
Thai said that he, sen yhystirday,
Duelt in his chambyr ythanly,
With a clerk with him anerly.
Than knokyt thai at his chamur thar:

60 And quhen thai hard nane mak ansuar
Thai brak the dur; bot thai fand nocht,
The-quhethir the chambre hale thai socht.
Thai tauld the King than hale the cos

That tauld the King than hale the cas, And how that he eschapyt was.

65 He wes off his eschap sary; And swour in ire, full stalwartly, That he suld drawyn and hangit be. He manausyt as him thocht: bot he Thoucht that suld pas ane othir way.

<sup>39.</sup> S begins And from H.

<sup>47.</sup> For frayit in E Skeat reads sted from H.

## Here Robert Bruce sends Letters for an Assembly.

- 70 And quhen he, as ye hard me say, In-till the kyrk Schyr Jhone haid slayn, Till Louchmabane he went agayne; And gert men, with his lettres, ryd To freyndis apon ilke sid,
- 75 That come to hym with thar mengyhe; And his men als assemblit he: And thocht that he wald mak him king. Our all the land the word gan spryng, That the Bruce the Cumyn had slayn;
- 80 And, amang othir, lettres ar gayn
  To the byschop off Androws towne,
  That tauld how slayn wes that baroun,
  The lettir tauld hym all the deid:
  And he till his men can it reid;
- 85 And sythyn said thaim; "Sekyrly
  "I hop that Thomas prophecy
  "Off Hersildoune sall veryfyd be
  "In him; for, swa our Lord help me!
  "I haiff gret hop he sall be king,
- 90 "And haiff this land all in leding."

## The Douglas meeting with King Robert.

James off Dowglas, that ay-quhar All-wayis befor the byschop schar, Had weill hard all the lettir red; And he tuk alsua full gud hed

95 To that the byschop had said. And quhen the burdys down war laid, Till chamyr went thai then in hy; And James off Dowglas prively

<sup>74.</sup> Ilhe is from H: S adopts the form ilha. E gives ilh, a syllable short.

<sup>84.</sup> E has gert for can it read by S from H.

<sup>86.</sup> That is from H.

<sup>87.</sup> S following H reads verray for veryfyd.

<sup>95.</sup> H all that (S).

Said to the byschop; "Schyr, yhe se

100 "How Inglis men, throw thair powste,
"Dysherysys me off my land;
"And men has gert yhow undirstand,
"Als that the Erle off Carryk
"Clamys to govern the kynryk:

105 "And, for yhon man that he has slayn,
"All Inglis men ar him agayn,
"And wald disherys hym blythly;
"The-quhethir with him dwell wald I.
"Tharfor, Schir, giff it war yhour will,

110 "I wald tak with him gud and ill.
"Throw hym I trow my land to wyn,
"Magre the Clyffurd and his kyn"

"Throw hym I trow my land to wyn,
"Magre the Clyffurd and his kyn."
The byschop hard, and had pite,
And said: 'Swet son, sa God help me!

115 'I wald blythly that thow war thar,

'Bot at I nocht reprovyt war.

'On this maner welle wyrk thou may.

'Thow sall tak Ferrand my palfray; 'And for thair na is hors in this land

120 'Sa wycht, na vheit sa weill at hand:

'Tak him as off thine awyne heid,

'As I had gevyn thar-to na reid.

'And gyff his yhemar oucht gruchys, 'Luk that thow tak hym magre his;

125 'Swa sall I weill assonyheit be.

'Almychty God, for his powste, 'Graunt that he thow passis to,

'And thow, sa weill all tyme may do,

'That yhe yhow fra yhowr fayis defend!'

And syne gaiff him his benisoun,
And bad him pass his way off toun;
For he na wald spek till he war gane.
The Dowglas then his way has tane

128. In E clumsily in all tyme sa weill to do. The reading is from H. 131-2. E has gaiff him gud day, two syllables short, and pass furth on his way. S reads as in text from H.

135 Rycht to the hors, as he him bad: Bot he, that him in yhemsell had, Than warnyt hym dispitously. Bot he, that wrethyt him encrely, Fellyt hym with a suerdys dynt.

140 And syne, for-owtyn langir stynt,
The hors he sadylt hastely,
And lap on him delyverly;
And passyt furth but leve-taking.
Der God, that is off hevyn king,

145 Sawff hym, and scheld him fra his fayis!
All him alane the way he tais
Towart the towne off Louchmabane;
And, a litill fra Aryk-stane,
The Bruce with a gret rout he met,

150 That raid to Scone, for to be set In kingis stole, and to be king. And quhen Dowglas saw hys cummyng, He raid, and hailsyt hym in hy, And lowtyt him full curtasly:

155 And tauld him haly all his state, And quhat he was, and als how-gat The Clyffurd held his heritage: And that he come to mak homage Till him as till his rychtwis king;

160 And at he boune wes, in all thing, To tak with him the gud and ill. And quhen the Bruce had herd his will, He resavyt him in gret daynte, And men and armys till him gaff he.

165 He thought weile he suld be worthy; For all his eldris war doughty. Thusgat maid that that aquentance, That nevir syne, for nakyn chance, Departyt quhill that lyffand war.

170 Thair frendschip woux ay mar and mar:
For he servyt ay lelely;
And the tothir full wilfully,
That was bath worthy, wycht, and wys,
Rewardyt him weile his service.

#### The Crowning of King Robert.

THE lord of the Bruce to Glaskow raid,
And send about him, quhill he haid
Off his freyndis a gret menyhe.
And syne to Scone in hy raid he,
And wes maid king but langir let,

180 And in the kingis stole wes set;
As in that tyme wes the maner.
Bot off thar nobleis gret affer,
Thar service, na thar realte,
Yhe sall her na thing now for me;

That thiddir come, tok homage;
And syne went our all the land,
Frendis and frendschip purchesand,
To maynteym that he had begunnyn.

190 He wyst, or all the land war wonnyn, He suld fynd full hard barganyng With him that wes off Ingland King: For thar wes nane off lyff sa fell, Sa pautener, na sa cruell.

195 And quhen to King Edward wes tauld, How at the Bruys, that wes sa bauld, Had brocht the Cumyn till ending, And how he syne had maid him king, Owt off his wyt he went weill ner;

200 And callif till him Schir Amer
The Vallang, that wes wys and wycht,
And off his hand a worthy knycht,
And bad him men off armys ta,
And in all hy till Scotland ga,

205 And byrn, and slay, and rais dragoun:
And hycht all Fyfe in warysoun
Till him, that mycht othir ta or sla
Robert the Bruce, that wes his fa.
Schir Aymer did as he him bad,

210 Gret chevalry with him he had;

204. All is from H.

With him wes Philip the Mowbray, And Ingram the Umfravill perfay, That wes bath wys and averty, And full of gret chevalry;

215 And off Scotland the maist party Thai had in-till thar company.

## The First Speaking of King Robert with Sir Aymer.

For yheit then mekill off the land Wes in-till Inglis mennys hand. Till Perth then went thai in a rout,

220 That then wes wallyt all about
With feile towris, rycht hey bataillyt,
To defend giff it war assaylit.
Thar-in duellyt Schir Amery,

With all his gret chevalry.

225 The King Robert wyst he wes thar, And quhat-kyn chyftanys with him war, And assemblyt all his mengyhe. He had feyle off full gret bounte; Bot thar fayis war may then thai,

230 Be fifteene hunder, as Ik herd say.
The-quhethir he had thar, at that ned,
Full feill that war douchty off deid;
And barownys that war bauld as bar.
Twa erlis alsua with him war;

235 Off Levynax and Atholl war thai. Edward the Bruce wes thar alsua, Thomas Randell, and Hew de le Hay, And Schyr David the Berclay,

Fresale, Somerveile, and Inchmertyn;

240 James of Dowglas thar wes syne,
That yheyt than wes bot litill off mycht;
And othir fele folk forsye in fycht:
Bot I can nocht tell quhat thai hycht.

\*243-245. H has

Als was good Cristall of Setoun, And Robert Boyde of great renoun, And other feill men of meekle might.

These lines are from H, and are not in E. See note.

Thocht thai war qwheyn, thai war worthy,
And full of gret chevalry.
And in bataill, in gud aray,
Befor Sanct Jhonystoun com thai,
And bad Schyr Amery isch to fycht;

Traistyt off thaim that wes him by,
Bad his men arme thaim hastily.
Bot Schir Ingram the Umfravill
Thocht it war all to gret perill

In playne bataill to thaim to ga,

And he, that in the mekill mycht

255 Or quhill that war arayit sa: And till Schyr Amer then said he; 'Schir, giff that yhe will trow to me, 'Yhe sall nocht ische thaim till assaile,

Till thai ar purvayt in bataill.

260 'For thar ledar is wys and wycht, 'And off his hand a noble knycht;

'And he has in his cumpany

'Mony a gud man and worthi,
'That sall be hard for till assay,

265 'While thai ar in sa gud aray.

'For it suld be full mekill mycht 'That now suld put thaim to the flycht:

For quhen thai folk ar weill arayit, And for the bataill weill purvait,

270 'With-thi that thai all gud men be,

'Thai sall fer mar be avise,

'And weill mar for to dreid, then thai

'War set sumdele out off aray.

'Thairfor yhe may, schir, say thaim till,

275 'That that may this nycht, and that will, 'Gang herbery thaim and slep and rest;

'And at to morn, but langar frest,

'Yhe sall isch furth to the bataill,

'And fecht with thaim bot gyf thai faile.

280 'Sa till thar herbery wend sall thai,

255. H gives While that and S adopts.

256. E omits then in H. 265. E Till thai, 280, 281. E went; wend is from H.

'And sum sall wend to the forray;

'And that that duellis at the logyng, 'Sen that come owt off travelling,

'Sall in schort tyme unarmyt be.

285 'Then on our best maner may we,

'With all our fayr chevalry,

'Ryd towart thaim rycht hardyly;

'And thai that wenys to rest all nycht

'Quhen thai se us arayit to fycht,

290 'Cummand on thaim sa sudanly,

'Thai sall affrayit be gretumly.

'And or thai cummyn in bataill be,
'We sall speid us swagat that we

'Sall be all redy till assembill.

295. 'Sum man for erynes will trymbill,

'Quhen he assayit is sodanly,

'That with avisement is douchty.'

### The Lodging of King Robert in the Park of Methven.

A<sup>S</sup> he avisyt now have thai done; And till thaim utouth send thai sone,

And the thair dioth send that sone 300 And bad thaim herbery thaim that nycht, And on the morn cum to the fycht.

Quhen thai saw thai mycht no mar,

Towart Meffayn then gan thai far;

And in the woud thaim logyt thai;
305 The thrid part went to the forray;
And the lave sone unarmyt war,

And skalyt to loge thaim her and thar. Schyr Amer then, but mar abaid, With all the folk he with him haid,

310 Ischyt in-forcely to the fycht;
And raid, in-till a randoun rycht,
The strawcht way towart Meffen.
The King, that wes unarmyt then,
Saw thaim cum swa inforcely;

315 Then till his men gan hely cry,

292. For cummyn S reads knit from H.

"Till armys swyth, and makys yhow yhar!
"Her at our hand our fayis ar!"
And thai did swa in full gret hy;
And on thair hors lap hastily.
The King displayit his baper

320 The King displayit his baner, Quhen that his folk assemblyt wer; And said, "Lordingis, now may yhe se

"That yhone folk all, throw sutelte, "Schapis thaim to do with slycht,

325 "That at thai drede to do with mycht.

"Now I persave he that will trew

"His fa, it sall him sum tyme rew.

"And nocht-for-thi, thocht thai be fele,

"God may rycht weill our werdis dele;

330 "For multitud mais na victory,

"As men has red in mony story,

"That few folk has oft vencusyt ma.

"Trow we that we sall do rycht sua.

"Yhe are ilkan wycht and worthy,

335 " And full of gret chevalry;

"And wate rycht weill quhat honour is.

"Wyrk yhe then apon swylk wys,

"That yhour honour be savyt ay.

"And a thing will I to yow say,"

340 "That he that dois for his cuntre "Sall herbryit in-till hevyn be."

Quhen this wes said, thai saw cumand Thar fayis ridand, ner at the hand,

Arayit rycht avisely, 345 Willful to do chevalry.

# The Battle of Methven and the First Discomfiture of King Robert.

ON athir syd thus war thai yhar,
And till assemble all redy war.
Thai straucht their speris, on athir syd,
And swa ruydly gan samyn ryd,
That speris all to-fruschyt war,
And feyle men dede, and woundyt sar;

340. S deis for "an obvious error"; but see note.

The blud owt at their byrnys brest. For the best and the worthiest, That wilfull war to wyn honour,

And rowtis ruyd about thaim dang.

Men mycht haiff seyn in-to that thrang
Knychtis that wycht and hardy war,
Lindyr hare fout defeult than

Undyr hors feyt defoulyt thar,

360 Sum woundyt, and sum all ded: The gress woux off the blud all rede. And thai, that held on hors, in hy Swappyt owt swerdis sturdyly; And swa fell strakys gave and tuk,

365 That all the renk about thaim quouk.
The Bruysis folk full hardely
Scharmet their great about the

Schawyt thair gret chevalry: And he him-selff, atour the lave, Sa hard and hevy dyntis gave,

370 That quhar he come thai maid him way. His folk thaim put in hard assay, To stynt thar fais mekill mycht, That then so fayr had off the fycht, That thai wan feild ay mar and mar:

375 The Kingis small folk ner vencusyt ar.
And quhen the King his folk has sene
Begyn to faile, for propyr tene

Hys assenyhe gan he cry; And in the stour sa hardyly

380 He ruschyt, that all the semble schuk;
He all till-hewyt that he our-tuk;
And dang on thaim quhill he mycht drey.
And till his folk he criyt hey;
"On thaim! On thaim! Thai feble fast!

385 "This bargane nevir may langar last!"
And with that word sa wilfully
He dang on, and sa hardely,
That quha had sene him in that fycht
Suld hald him for a douchty knycht.

390 Bot thocht he wes stout and hardy, And othir als off his cumpany, Thar mycht na worschip thar availyhe;
For thar small folk begouth to failyhe,
And fled all skalyt her and thar.
395 Bot the gude, at enchaufyt war
Off ire, abade and held the stour
To conquyr thaim endles honour.

And quhen Schyr Amer has sene
The small folk fle all bedene,
400 And sa few abid to fycht,
He releyt to him mony a knycht;
And in the stour sa hardyly,
He ruschyt with hys chevalry,
That he ruschyt his fayis ilkane.
405 Schir Thomas Randell thar wes tane,
That then wes a yhoung bacheler;
And Schyr Alexander Fraseyr,
And Schyr David the Breklay,

Inchmertyne, and Hew de le Hay,

410 And Somerveil, and othir ma;
And the King him-selff alsua
Wes set in-till full hard assay,
Throw Schyr Philip the Mowbray,
That raid till him full hardyly,

415 And hynt hys rengyhe, and syne gan cry;
"Help! help! I have the new maid king!"
With that come gyrdand, in a lyng,
Crystall of Seytoun, quhen he swa
Saw the King sesyt with his fa;

420 And to Philip sic rout he raucht,
That thocht he wes off mekill maucht,
He gert hym galay disyly;
And haid till erd gane fullyly,
Ne war he hynt him by his sted.

And the King his enssenyhe gan cry, Releyt his men that war him by, That war sa few that thai na mycht Endur the fors mar off the fycht.

430 Thai prikyt then out off the pres;

And the King that angry wes, For he his men saw fle him fra, Said then; "Lordingis, sen it is swa" That ure rynnys agane us her,

435 "Gud is we pass off thar daunger, "Till God us send eftsonys grace:

"And yheyt may fall, giff thai will chace, "Quyt thaim corn-but sum-dele we sall." To this word thai assentyt all,

440 And fra thaim walopyt owyr mar.
Thar fayis alsua wery war,
That off thaim all thar chassyt nane:
Bot with prisoneris, that thai had tane,
Rycht to the toune thai held thar way,

That nycht thai lay all in the toun;
Ther wes nane off sa gret renoun,
Na yheit sa hardy off thaim all,
That durst herbery with-out the wall.

450 Sa dred thai sar the gayne-cummyng Off Schir Robert, the douchty King. And to the King off Ingland sone, Thai wrate haly as thai haid done; And he wes blyth off that tithing,

And for dispyte bad draw and hing All the prisoneris, thocht thai war ma. Bot Schyr Amery did nocht sua; To sum bath land and lyff gaiff he, To leve the Bruysis fewte,

460 And serve the King off Ingland, And off him for to hald the land, And werray the Brus as thar fa. Thomas Randell wes ane off tha, That for his lyff become thar man.

465 Off othir, that war takyn than, Sum thai ransownyt, sum thai slew, And sum thai hangyt, and sum thai drew.

#### Here the King and his Men Suffer Great Want.

In this maner rebutyt was
The Bruys, that mekill murnyn mais
for his men that war slayne and tane.
And he wes als sa will off wane,
That he trowit in nane sekyrly,
Owtane thaim off his cumpany;
That war sa few that thai mycht be

475 Five hunder ner off all mengyhe. His brodir alwayis wes him by, Schyr Edward, that wes sa hardy; And with him wes a bauld baroun, Schyr Wilyham the Boroundoun;

480 The Erle off Athole als wes thar.
Bot ay syn thai discomfyt war,
The Erle off the Levenax wes away,
And wes put to full hard assay
Or he met with the King agayn:

485 Bot always, as a man off mayn, He mayntemyt him full manlyly. The King had in his cumpany James alsua of Dowglas, That wycht, wys, and averty was.

490 Schyr Gilbert de le Hay alsua, Schir Nele Cambell, and othir ma, That I thar namys can nocht say, As utelauys went mony day; Dreand in the Month thar pyne;

495 Eyte flesch, and drank water syne.
He durst nocht to the planys ga,
For all the commownys went him fra;
That for thar liffis war full fayn
To pas to the Inglis pes agayn.

500 Sa fayris it ay commounly; In commownys may nane affy, Bot he that may thar warand be. Sa fur thai then with him; for he Thaim fra thar fais mycht nocht warand:
505 Thai turnyt to the tothir hand.
Bot threldome, that men gert thaim fele,
Gert thaim ay yharne that he fur wele.

## Here King Robert with his Men goes as far as Aberdeen.

THUS in the hyllis levyt he,
Till the maist part off his menyhe
To Wes revyn and rent; na schoyne thai had,
Bot as thai thaim off hydys mad.
Tharfor thai went till Abyrdeyne,
Quhar Nele the Bruys come, and the Queyn,
And othir ladyis fayr and farand,

515 Ilkane for luff off thar husband; That for leyle luff, and leawte, Wald partenerys off thair paynys be. Thai chesyt tyttar with thaim to ta Angyr, and payn, na be thaim fra.

520 For luff is off sa mekill mycht,
That it all paynys makis lycht;
And mony tyme mais tendir wychtis
Off swilk strenthtis, and swilk mychtis,
That thai may mekill paynys endur,

525 And forsakis nane aventur
That evyr may fall, with-thi that thai
Thar-throw succur thair luffys may.
Men redys, quhen Thebes wes tane,
And King Adrastus men war slane,

That assailyt the cite,
That the wemen off his cuntre
Come for to fech him hame agayne,
Quhen thai hard all his folk wes slayne;
Quhar the King Campaneus,

535 Throw the help off Menesteus, That come percas ridand tharby,

527. I read luffs without any MS or printed authority; but surely the sense, a eulogium of love and what it may make women do, demands this reading. Cf. III., 351.

534. S, following H, inserts that after Quhar.

With three hunder in cumpany, That throw the kingis prayer assailyt, That yheit to tak the toun had failyheit.

540 Then war the wiffys thyrland the wall With pikkis, quhar the assailyheours all Entryt, and dystroyit the tour, And slew the pupill but recour. Syn quhen the duk his way wes gayne,

545 And all the kingis men war slayne,
The wiffis had him till his cuntre,
Quhar wes na man leiffand bot he.
In wemen mekill comfort lyis;
And gret solace on mony wis.

550 Sa fell it her, for thar cummyng Rejosyt rycht gretumly the King; The-quhethir ilk nycht him-selvyn wouk And his rest apon daiis touk.

A gud quhile thar he sojournyt then,

555 And esyt wondir weill his men; Till that the Inglis men herd say That he thair with his mengyhe lay, All at ese and sekyrly.

Assemblit thai thar ost in hy,
560 And thar him trowit to suppris.
Bot he, that in his deid wes wys,
Wyst thai assemblyt war, and quhar;
And wyst that thai sa mony war,
That he mycht nocht agayne thaim fycht.

565 His men in hy he gert be dycht,
And buskyt of the toune to ryd:
The ladyis raid rycht by his syd.
Then to the hill thai raid thar way,
Quhar gret defaut off mete had thai.

570 Bot worthy James off Dowglas
Ay travailland and besy was,
For to purches the ladyis mete;
And it on mony wis wald get.
For quhile he venesoun thaim brocht:

575 And with his handys quhile he wrocht 558. S from H reads At alkyn. E as given.

Gynnys, to tak geddis and salmonys, Trowtis, elys, and als menounys. And quhill thai went to the forray; And swa thar purchesyng maid thai.

580 Ilk man traveillyt for to get
And purches thaim that thai mycht ete.
Bot off all that evir thai war,
Thar wes nocht ane amang thaim thar,
That to the ladyis profyt was

585 Mar then Jamys of Dowglas.
And the King oft confortyt wes,
Throw his wyt and his besynes.
On this maner thaim governyt thai,
Till they come to the hed of Tay.

#### BOOK III.

Here the Lord of Lorn attacks the King because of the Death of John Comyn.

THE Lord off Lorne wonnyt thar-by,
That wes capitale ennymy
To the King, for his emys sak,
Jhon Comyn; and thocht for to tak
Vengeance apon cruell maner.
Quhen he the King wyst wes sa ner,
He assemblyt his men in hy;
And had in-till his cumpany
The barownys off Argyle alsua,
Thai war a thowsand weill or ma;

Thai war a thowsand weill or ma:
And come for to suppris the King,
That weill wes war of thair cummyng.
Bot all to few with him he had,
The-quhethir he bauldly thaim abaid;

15 And weill ost, at thar fryst metyng, War layd at erd, but recoveryng. The Kingis folk full weill thaim bar, And slew, and fellyt, and woundyt sar. Bot the folk off the tothir party

20 Fawcht with axys sa felounly

For thai on fute war evir-ilkane, That thai feile off thar hors has slayne; And till sum gaiff thai woundis wid. James off Dowglas wes hurt that tyd;

- 25 And als Schyr Gilbert de le Hay.

  The King his men saw in affray,
  And his ensenyhe can he cry;
  And amang thaim rycht hardyly
  He rad, that he thaim ruschyt all;
- 30 And fele of thaim thar gert he fall. Bot quhen he saw thai war sa feill, And saw thaim swa gret dyntis deill, He dred to tyne his folk, forthi His men till him he gan rely,
- 35 And said; 'Lordyngis, foly it war 'Tyll us for till assembill mar, 'For thai fele off our hors has slayn; 'And gyff we fecht with thaim agayn 'We sall tyne off our small mengyhe,
- 40 'And our-selft sall in perill be.
  'Tharfor me thynk maist avenand
  'To withdraw us, us defendand,
  'Till we cum owt off thar daunger,
  'For owr strenth at our hand is ner.'
- 45 Then thai withdrew thaim halely;
  Bot that wes nocht full cowartly;
  For samyn in-till a sop held thai;
  And the King him abandonyt ay
  To defend behind his mengyhe.
- 50 And throw his worschip sa wroucht he, That he reskewyt all the flearis, And styntyt swagat the chassaris, That nane durst owt off batall chas For alwayis at that hand he was.
- 55 Sa weile defendyt he his men, That quha-sa-evir had seyne him then Prove sa worthely vasselage, And turn sa oft sythis the visage, He suld say he awcht weill to be

60 A king of gret rewate.

OUHEN that the Lord of Lorne saw His men stand off him ane sik aw, That thai durst nocht folow the chase, Rycht angry in his hart he was;

65 And for wondyr that he suld swa Stot thaim, him allane but ma, He said; "Me think, Marthokys sone, "Rycht as Golmakmorn was wone "To haiff fra Fyn all his mengne,

70 "Rycht swa all his fra us has he."
He set ensample thus mydlike,
The-quhethir he micht, mar manerlik,
Lyknyt hym to Gaudifer de Larys,
Quhen that the mychty duk Betys

75 Assailyheit in Gadyrris the forrayours.
And quhen the King thaim made rescours,
Duk Betys tuk on him the flycht,
That wald ne mar abid to fycht.
Bot gud Gaudifer the worthi

80 Abandonyt him so worthyly, For to reskew all the fleieris, And for to stonay the chasseris, That Alysandir to erth he bar; And alsua did he Tholimar,

85 And gud Coneus alsua, Danklyne alsua, and othir ma. But at the last thar slayne he wes: In that failyheit the liklynes. For the King, full chevalrusly,

90 Defendyt all his cumpany, And wes set in full gret danger; And yheit eschapyt haile and fer.

## How the King slew the Three Men that swore his Death.

Twa brethir war into that land,
That war the hardiest off hand

That war in-till all that cuntre;
And thai had sworn, iff thai micht se
The Bruys, quhar thai mycht him our-ta,
That thai suld dey, or then hym sla.

Thar surname wes Makyne-drosser;
100 That is al-so mekill to say her
As "the Durwarth sonnys" perfay.
Off thar covyne the thrid had thai,
That wes rycht stout, ill, and feloune.
Quhen thai the King of gud renoune

105 Saw sua behind his mengne rid, And saw him torne sa mony tid, Thai abaid till that he was Entryt in ane narow place, Betuix a louchside and a bra;

That wes sa strait, Ik underta,
That he mycht nocht weill turn his sted.
Then with a will till him thai yhede;
And ane him by the bridill hynt:
But he raucht till him sic a dynt,

With that ane othir gan him ta
Be the lege, and his hand gan schute
Betuix the sterap and his fute:
And quhen the King felt thar his hand.

120 In sterapys stythly gan he stand, And strak with spuris the stede in hy, And he lansyt furth delyverly, Swa that the tothir failyheit fete; And nocht-for-thi his hand wes yheit

125 Undyr the sterap, magre his. The thrid, with full gret hy, with this Rycht till the bra-syd he yheid, And stert be-hynd hym on his sted. The King wes then in full gret pres;

The-quhethir he thocht, as he that wes In all hys dedys avise,
To do ane owtrageous bounte.
And syne hyme that behynd hym was,
All magre his will, him gan he ras

135 Fra be-hynd hym, thocht he had sworn, He laid hym evyn him beforn. Syne with the suerd sic dynt hym gave, That he the heid till the harnys clave.

He rouschit doun off blud all rede, 140 As he that stound feld off dede. And then the King, in full gret hy, Strak at the tothir vigorusly, That he eftir his sterap drew, That at the fyrst strak he him slew. 145 On this wis him delyverit he Off all thai felloun fayis thre.

UHEN thai of Lorne has sene the King Set in hym-selff sa gret helping, And defend him sa manlely; 150 Wes nane amang thaim sa hardy That durst assailyhe him mar in fycht: Sa dred thai for his mekill mycht. Thar wes a baroune Maknauchtan, That in his hart gret kep has tane 155 Unto the Kingis chevalry, And prisyt hym in hert gretly. And to the Lord off Lorne said he; 'Sekyrly now may yhe se

'Betane the starkest pundelan,

160 'That evyr yhour lyff-tyme yhe saw tane.

'For yhone knycht, throw his douchti deid,

'And throw his owtrageous manheid,

'Has fellyt in-till litill tyd

'Thre men of mekill mycht and prid:

165 'And stonayit all our mengyhe swa, 'That eftyr him dar na man ga;

'And tournys sa mony tyme his stede,

'That semys off us he had na dred.' Then gane the Lord off Lorn say;

170 "It semys it likis the perfay,

"That he slayis yhongat our mengyhe." 'Schyr,' said he, 'sa our Lord me se!

'To sauff yhour presence it is nocht swa.

'Bot quhethir sa he be freynd or fa,

175 'That wynnys prys off chevalry,

' Men suld spek tharoff lelyly.

'And sekyrly, in all my tyme,
'Ik hard nevir, in sang na ryme,
'Tell off a man that swa smertly
180 'Eschevyt swa gret chevalry.'
Sic speking off the King thai maid:
And he eftyr his mengyhe raid;
And in-till saufte thaim led,
Quhar he his fayis na thing dred.

185 And thai off Lorne agayn ar gayn, Menand the scaith that thai haiff tayn.

> THE King that nycht his wachis set, And gert ordayne that thai mycht et; And bad thaim comford to thaim tak,

190 And at thar mychtis mery mak.

'For disconford,' as then said he,
'Is the werst thing that may be.

'For throw mekill disconforting

'Men fallis oft in-to disparyng.

195 'And fra a man disparyt be,

'Then utterly vencusyt is he.
'And fra the hart be discumfyt,

'The body is nocht worth a myt.

'Tharfor,' he said, 'atour all thing,

200 'Kepys yhow fra disparyng:

'And thynk, thouch we now harmys fele,

'That God may yheit releve us weill.
'Men redys off mony men that war

'Fer hardar stad then we yhet ar;

205 'And syne our lord sic grace thaim lent,

'That that come weill till thair entent.
'For Rome quhilum sa hard wes stad,

'Quhen Hanniball thaim vencusyt had,

'That, off ryngis with rich stane,

210 'That war off knychtis fyngerys tane,

189. E omits the first thaim. H has thaim comfort which S adopts; but of line 191. J reads conford in E.

194. J and S off; but surely it should be oft.

210. E reads and J prints stanys, taneys; but, as S points out, the latter word is impossible. H gives as above.

'He send thre bollis to Cartage:

'And syne to Rome tuk his viage,

'Thar to distroye the cite all.

'And thai with-in, bath gret and small,

215 'Had fled, quhen thai saw his cummyng,

'Had nocht bene Scipio the king,

'That, or thai fled, wald thaim haiff slayn,

'And swagat turnyt he thaim agayn.

'Syne for to defend the cite,

220 'Servandis and threllis mad he fre;

'And maid thaim knychtis evirilkane:

'And syne has off the templis tane

'The armys, that thar eldrys bar, 'In name off victory offerryt thar.

225 'And quhen thai armyt war and dycht,

'That stalwart karlis war and wycht,

'And saw that thai war fre alsua,

'Thaim thocht that thai had levir ta

'The dede, na lat the toun be tane.

230 'And with commowne assent, as ane,

'Thai ischit off the toune to fycht,
'Quhar Hannyball his mekill mycht

'Aganys thaim arayit was.

'Bot, throw mycht off Goddis grace,

235 'It ranyt sa hard and hevyly,

'That thar wes nane sa hardy

'That durst in-to that place abid;

'Bot sped thaim in-till hy to rid;

'The ta part to thar pailyhownys,

240 'The tothyr part went in the toune is.

'The rayne thus lettyt the fechtyn:

'Sa did it twys thar-eftir syne.

'Quhen Hanibal saw this ferly,

'With all his gret chevalry

245 'He left the toune, and held his way;

' And syne wes put to sik assay,

216. E has king. H gives ying, which S adopts; but cf. line 250, Hannibal was not a king, either. King is, of course, historically wrong, but Barbour has already made Julius Cæsar Emperor! See note.

'Throw the power off that cite,

'That his lyff and his land tynt he.

'Be thir quheyne, that sa worthily

250 'Wane sik a king, and sa mychty, 'Yhe may weill be ensampill se,

'Yhe may weill be ensampill se, 'That na man suld disparyt be:

'Na lat his hart be vencusyt all,

'For na myscheiff that evir may fall.

255 'For nane wate, in how litill space,

'That God umquhile will send his grace.

' Had thai fled and thar wayis gane,

'Thar fayis swith the toune had tane.

'Tharfor men, that werrayand ar,

260 'Suld set thair etlyng evir-mar

'To stand agayne thar fayis mycht,

'Umquhile with strenth, and quhile with slycht;

'And ay thynk to cum to purpos:

'And giff that thaim war set in chos,

265 'To dey, or to leyff cowartly, 'Thai suld erar dey chevalrusly.'

> THUSGAT thaim conforty the King; And, to confort thaim, gan inbryng

Auld storys off men that wer
270 Set in-tyll hard assayis ser,
And that fortoun contraryit fast,
And come to purpos at the last.
Tharfor he said, that thai that wald
Thar hartis undiscumfyt hald

275 Suld ay thynk ythandly to bryng
All thar enpres to gud ending:
As quhile did Cesar the worthy,
That traveillyt ay so besyly,
With all his mycht, folowing to mak

280 To end the purpos that he wald tak;
That hym thocht he had doyne rycht nocht,
Ay quhill to do him levyt ocht:
For-thi gret thingis eschevyt he,
As men may in his story se.

275, 288. Ythandly (S): E has ententily.

285 Men may se be his ythand will, And it suld als accord to skill, That quha tais purpos sekyrly, And followis it syne ythandly, For-owt fayntice, or yheit faynding,

290 With-thi it be conabill thing,
Bot he the mar be unhappy,
He sall eschev it in party.
And haiff he lyff-dayis, weill mai fall,
That he sall eschev it all

That he sall eschev it all.

295 For-thi suld nane haiff disparing For till eschev a full gret thing: For giff it fall he thar off failyhe, The fawt may be in his trawailyhe.

HE prechyt thaim on this maner;
And fenyheit to mak bettir cher,
Then he had matir to, be fer:
For his caus yheid fra ill to wer.
Thai war ay in sa hard travaill,
Till the ladyis began to fayle,
That mycht the travaill drey na mar;

Sa did othir als that war thar.
The Erle Jhone wes ane off tha,
Off Athole, that quhen he saw sua
The King be discumfyt twys,

310 And sa feile folk agayne him rys; And lyff in sic travaill and dout, His hart begane to faile all out. And to the King, apon a day,

He said; "Gyff I durst to yhow say,

315 "We lyff in-to sa mekill dreid,
"And haffis oft-sys off met sik ned,
"And is ay in sic travailling,

"With cauld, and hungir, and waking;

"That I set off my-selvyn sua,

320 "That I count nocht my liff a stra.
"Thir angrys may I na mar drey,

319. Set from H (S). E has am sad. Perhaps And I sad.

"For thoucht me tharfor worthit dey, "I mon sojourne, quhar-evir it be.

"Levys me tharfor par cheryte."

325 The King saw that he sa wes failyt,
And that he ik wes for-travaillyt.
He said; 'Schir Erle, we sall sone se,
'And ordayne how it best may be.
'Quhar-evyr yhe be, our Lord yhow send

330 'Grace, fra yhour fais yhow to defend!'
With that in hy to him callyt he
Thaim, that till him war mast prive:
Then amang thaim thai thocht it best,

And ordanyt for the liklyest,

335 That the Queyne, and the Erle alsua, And the ladyis, in hy suld ga, With Nele the Bruce, till Kildromy. For thaim thocht thai mycht sekyrly Duell thar, quhill thai war victaillit weile:

340 For swa stalwart wes the castell,
That it with strenth war hard to get,
Quhill that thar-in were men and mete.
As thai ordanyt thai did in hy:
The Queyne, and all hyr cumpany,

345 Lap on thar hors, and furth thai far.

Men mycht haiff sene, quha had bene thar,
At leve-takyng the ladyis gret,
And mak thar face with teris wet:
And knychtis, for thar luffis sak,

350 Baith sich, and wep, and murnyng mak. Thai kyssyt thair luffis at thair partyng, The King umbethocht him off a thing; That he fra-thine on fute wald ga, And tak on fute bath weill and wa;

355 And wald na hors-men with him haiff.
Tharfor his hors all haile he gaiff
To the ladyis, that mystir had.
The Queyn furth on hyr wayis rade;
And sawffly come to the castell,

360 Quhar hyr folk war ressavyt weill;

And esyt weill with meyt and drynk.
Bot mycht nane eys let hyr to think
On the King, that sa sar wes stad,
That bot twa hunder with him had,
365 The quhethir thaim weill confort he ay:
God help him, that all mychtis may!

## The Pains of King Robert among the Mountains.

THE Queyne duelt thus in Kyldromy:
And the King and his cumpany,
That war twa hunder, and na ma,
Fra thai had send thar hors thaim fra,

370 Fra thai had send thar hors thaim fra,
Wandryt emang the hey montanys
Quhar he and his oft tholyt paynys.
For it wes to the wynter ner;
And sa feile fayis about him wer,

375 That all the countre thaim werrayit.
Sa hard anoy thaim then assayit,
Off hungir, cauld, with schowris snell,
That nane that levys can weill it tell.
The King saw how his folk wes stad,

380 And quhat anoyis that thai had;
And saw wynter wes cummand ner;
And that he mycht on na wys der,
In the hillys, the cauld lying,
Na the lang nychtis waking.

385 He thocht he to Kyntyr wald ga, And swa lang sojowrnyng thar ma, Till wynter weddir war away: And then he thocht, but mar delay, In-to the manland till aryve,

And for Kyntyr lyis in the se,
Schyr Nele Cambel befor send he,
For to get him navyn and meite:
And certane tyme till him he sete,

395 Quhen he suld meite him at the se. Schir Nele Cambel, with his mengyhe,

365. E gives The quhethir thaim weill confortyt he ay. H The whilke them wel governed ay, whence Skeat reads The quhilk with E less he. See note.

Went his way, but mar letting,
And left his brothir with the King.
And in twelve dayis sua traveillit he,
400 That he gat schippyne gud plente,
And victalis in gret aboundance:
Sa maid he nobill chevisance.
For his sibmen wonnyt thar-by,
That helpyt him full wilfully.

### How the King passed over Loch Lomond.

405 The King, eftir that he wes gane,
To Lowchlomond the way has tane,
And come thar on the thrid day.
Bot thar-about na bait fand thai,
That mycht thaim our the watir ber:

410 Than war thai wa on gret maner:
For it wes fer about to ga;
And thai war in-to dout alsua,
To meyt thair fayis that spred war wyd.
Tharfor, endlang the louch his syd.

415 Sa besyly thai socht, and fast,
Tyll Jamys of Dowglas, at the last,
Fand a litill sonkyn bate,
And to the land it drew, fut-hate.
But it sa litill wes that it

420 Mycht our the wattir bot thresum flyt.
Thai send thar-off word to the King,
That wes joyfull off that fynding;
And fyrst in-to the bate is gane,
With him Dowglas; the thrid wes ane

And set thaim our deliverly,
And set thaim on the land all dry:
And rowyt sa oft-sys to and fra,
Fechand ay our twa and twa,
That in a nycht and in a day,
Aso Cummyn owt-our the louch ar thai.

99. E xij. H ten.

For sum off thaim couth swome full weill, And on his bak ber a fardele. Swa with swymmyng, and with rowyng, Thai brocht thaim our, and all thair thing.

Red to thaim, that war him by,
Romanys off worthi Ferambrace,
That worthily our-cummyn was,
Throw the rycht douchty Olyver;

And how the Duk-Peris wer
Assegyt in-till Egrymor,
Quhar King Lavyne lay thaim befor,
With may thowsandis then I can say.
And bot eleven within war thai,

445 And a woman: and war sa stad,
That thai na mete thar-within had,
Bot as thai fra thar fayis wan.
Yheyte sua contenyt thai thaim than,
That thai the tour held manlily,

450 Till that Rychard off Normandy,
Magre his fayis, warnyt the King,
That wes joyfull off this tithing:
For he wend thai had all bene slayne.
Tharfor he turnyt in hy agayne,

And wan Mantrybill and passit Flagot;
And syne Lavyne and all his flot,
Dispitusly discumfyt he:
And deliveryt his men all fre,
And wan the naylis, and the sper,

460 And the croune that Jesu couth ber;
And off the croice a gret party
He wan throw his chevalry.
The gud King, apon this maner,
Comfortyt thaim that war him ner;

465 And maid thaim gamyn and solace, Till that his folk all passyt was.

465. E has again et, as in I., 309.

48

OUHEN thai war passit the watir brad, Suppos thai fele off fayis had, Thai maid thaim mery, and war blyth;

470 Nocht-for-thi full fele syth
Thai had full gret defaut off mete,
And tharfor venesoun to get
In twa partys ar thai gayne.
The King him-selff was in-till ane,

475 And Schir James off Dowglas
In-to the tothir party was.
Then to the hycht thai held thar way,
And huntyt lang quhill off the day;
And soucht schawys, and setis set;

480 Bot thai gat litill for till ete.

Then hapnyt at that tyme percas,
That the Erle of the Levenax was
Amang the hillis ner tharby;
And quhen he hard sa blaw and cry,

485 He had wondir quhat it mycht be; And on sic maner spyryt he, That he knew that it wes the King And then, for-owtyn mar duelling, With all thaim off his company,

490 He went rycht till the King in hy, Sa blyth and sa joyfull, that he Mycht on na maner blyther be. For he the King wend had bene ded; And he wes alsua will off red,

That he durst rest in-to na place
Na, sen the King discumfyt was
At Meffan, he herd nevir thing
That evir wes certane off the King.
Tharfor in-to full gret daynte,

500 The King full humyly haylsit he;
And he him welcummyt rycht blythly,
And kyssyt him full tendirly.
And all the lordis, that war thar,
Rycht joyfull off thar meting war,

505 And kyssyt him in gret daynte.

It wes gret pite for till se
How thai for joy and pite gret,
Quhen that thai with thar falow met,
That thai wend had bene dede; forthi
510 Thai welcummyt him mar hartfully.
And he for pite gret agayne,
That nevir off metyng wes say fayne.

Thocht I say that thai gret, sothly
It wes na greting propyrly:
515 For I trow traistly that gretyng
Cummys to men for mysliking;
And that nane may but anger gret,
Bot it be wemen, that can wet
Thair chekys quhen-evir thaim list with teris,
520 The-quhethir weill oft thaim na thing deris.
Bot I wate richt weill, but lesyng,
Quhat-evir men say off sic greting,
That mekill joy, or yheit pete,
May ger men sua amovyt be,
525 That watir fra the hart will rys,

And weyt the eyne on sic avys,
That it is lik to be greting,
Thocht it to be nocht sua in all thing.
For quhen men gretis enkrely,

530 The hart is sorowfull or angry.
Bot for pite, I trow, gretyng
Be na thing bot ane opynnyng
Off hart, that schawis the tendirnys
Off rewth that in it closyt is.

535 The barownys apon this maner, Throw Goddis grace, assemblyt wer. The Erle had mete, and that plente, And with glaid hart it thaim gaiff he;

508. H has fellowes, whence falowis (S).
521. H gives right, which seems necessary for the metre. E and S omit.

And that eyt it with full gud will, 540 That sought nane other sals thar-till Bot appetyt, that oft men takys; For rycht weill scowryt war than stomakys. Thai eit and drank sic as thai had; And till our Lord syne lovyng maid, 545 And thankit him, with full gud cher, That thai war met on that maner. The King then at thaim speryt yharne, How thai, sen he thaim saw, had farne; And thai full petwysly gan tell 550 Aventuris that thaim befell, And gret anoyis, and poverte. The King thar-at had gret pite: And tauld thaim petwisly agayne The noy, the travaill, and the payne, 555 That he had tholyt, sen he thaim saw. Wes nane amang thaim, hey na law, That he ne had pite and plesaunce, Ouhen that he herd mak remembrance Off the perellys that passyt war.

560 For, quhen men oucht at liking ar,
To tell off paynys passyt by
Plesys to heryng wonderly;
And to rehers thar auld disese,
Dois thaim oft-sys confort and ese;

565 With-thi thar-to folow na blame, Dishonour, wikytnes, na shame.

# How the King passed to the Sea, and how the Earl of Lennox was chased.

FTIR the mete sone rais the King, Quhen he had levyt hys speryng; And buskyt him, with his mengyhe, 570 And went in hy towart the se; Quhar Schir Nele Cambell thaim mete, Bath with schippis, and with meyte; Saylys, ayris, and othir thing, That wes spedfull to thar passyng.

575 Then schippyt thai, for-owtyn mar; Sum went till ster, and sum till ar, And rowyt be the ile of But. Men mycht se mony frely fute About the costis thar lukand.

580 As that on ayris rais rowand:
And nevys that stalwart war and squar,
That wont to spayn gret speris war,
Swa spaynyt aris, that men mycht se
Full oft the hyde leve on the tre.

585 For all war doand, knycht and knave; Wes nane that evir disport mycht have Fra steryng, and fra rowyng, To furthyr thaim off thar fleting.

## Here the Earl of Lennox is followed by Traitors.

Bot in the samyn tyme at thai
590 War in schipping, as yhe hard me say,
The Erle off the Levenax was,
I can nocht tell yhow throw quhat cas.
Levyt behynd with his galay,
Till the King wes fer on his way.

595 Quhen that thai off his cuntre
Wyst that so duelt behynd wes he,
Be se with schippys thai him soucht;
And he that saw that he wes nocht
Off pith to fecht with thai traytouris,

600 And that he had na ner socouris
Then the Kingis flote, for-thi
He sped him eftir thaim in hy.
Bot the tratouris hym folowyt sua,
That thai weill ner hym gan our-ta.

605 For all the mycht that he mycht do,
Ay ner and ner thai come him to.
And quhen he saw thai war sa ner
That he mycht weill thar manauce her,
And saw thaim ner and ner cum ay,

610 Then till his mengyhe gan he say;

"Bot giff we fynd sum sutelte, "Ourtane all sone sall we be.

"Tharfor I rede, but mar letting,

"That, owtakyn our armyng,

615 "We kast our thing all in the se:
"And fra our schip swa lychtyt be,
"We sall swa row, and speid us sua,
"That we sall weill eschaip thaim fra;

"With that thai sall mak duelling

620 "Apon the se, to tak our thing;
"And we sall row but resting ay,
"Till we eschapyt be away."

As he devisyt that have done; And thar schip that lychtyt sone:

625 And rowyt syne, with all thar mycht; And scho, that swa wes maid lycht, Raykyt slidand throw the se. And quhen thar fayis gan thaim se Forowth thaim alwayis, mar and mar,

630 The thingis that thar fletand war Thai tuk; and turnyt syne agayne, Swa that thai lesyt all thar payne.

OUHEN that the Erle on this maner,
And hys mengyhe, eschapyt wer,
635 Eftyr the King he gan hym hy,
That then, with all his cumpany,
In-to Kyntyr aryvyt was.
The Erle tauld him all his cas;
How he wes chasyt on the se,
640 With thaim that suld his awyn be;

640 With thaim that suld his awyn be;
And how he had bene tane but dout,
Na war it that he warpyt owt
All that he had, him lycht to ma;
And swa eschapyt he thaim fra.

645 "Schyr Erle," said the King, "perfay
"Syn thow eschapyt is away,

"Off the tynsell is na plenyheing. Bot I will say the weile a thing;

647. The is in E. S reads thi from H.

"That thar will fall the gret foly

650 "To pas oft fra my cumpany.

"For fele sys, quhen thow art away, "Thow art set in-till hard assay."

"Tharfor me thynk it best to the "To hald the alwayis ner by me."

655 'Schyr,' said the Erle, 'it sall be swa.
'I sall na wys pas fer yhow fra,
'Till God giff grace we be of mycht
'Agayne our fayis to hald our stycht.'

Angus off Ile that tyme wes syr, 660 And lord and ledar off Kyntyr. The King rycht weill resavyt he; And undretuk his man to be: And him and his, on mony wys, He abandownyt till his service.

665 And, for mar sekyrnes, gaiff him syne Hys castell off Donavardyne,
To duell tharin at his liking.
Full gretumly thankyt him the King,
And resavyt his service.

670 Nocht-for-thi, on mony wys,
He wes dredand for tresoun ay:
And tharfor, as Ik hard men say,
He traistyt in nane sekyrly,
Till that he knew him utraly.

675 Bot quhatkyn dred that evir he had, Fayr contenance to thaim he maid. And in Donavardyne dayis thre, For-owtyne mar, then duellyt he. Syne gert he his mengyhe mak thaim yhar,

680 Towart Rauchryne be se to far,
That is ane ile in-to the se;
And may weill in mydwart be
Betuix Kyntyr and Irland:
Quhar als gret stremys ar rynnand,

658. J reads flycht from E, but the two first letters are not clear, and S prefers stycht, though an unusual word.

685 And als peralous and mar
Till our-saile thaim in-to schipfair,
As is the rais of Bretangyhe,
Or strait off Marrok in-to Spanyhe.

Thair schippys to the se thai set;
690 And maid redy but langer let,
Ankyrs, rapys, bath saile and ar,
And all that nedyt to schipfar.
Quhen thai war boune, to saile thai went:
The wynd wes wele to thar talent.

695 Thai raysyt saile, and furth thai far;
And by the mole thai passyt yhar,
And entryt sone in-to the rase,
Quhar that the strem sa sturdy was
That wavys wycht, that brekand war,

700 Weltryt as hillys her and thar.

The schippys our the wavys slayd,
For wynd at poynt blawand thai had.
Bot nocht-for-thi quha had thar bene,
A gret stertling he mycht haiff seyne

705 Off schippys; for quhilum sum wald be Rycht on the wavys, as on mounte; And sum wald slyd fro heycht to law, Rycht as thai doune till hell wald draw; Syne on the wav stert sodanly.

710 And othyr schippis, that war thar-by, Deliverly drew to the depe.
It wes gret cunnannes to kep
Thar takill in-till sic a thrang,
And wyth sic wavis; for, ay amang,

715 The wavys reft thar sycht of land.

Quhen that the land wes rycht ner hand,

And quhen schippys war sailand ner,

The se wald rys on sic maner,

<sup>699.</sup> J reads wavys wyd wycht, as E probably has it. H has with. S puts in wavys wyd that, but wycht seems necessary and answers better to sturdy.

<sup>706.</sup> On mounte in E. H has summitie, whence S reads summite.

That off the wavys the weltrand hycht 720 Wald refe thaim oft off thar sycht.

Bot in to Rauchryne, nocht-forthi, Thai aryvyt ilkane sawffly: Blyth, and glaid, that thai war sua Eschapyt thai hidwyss wavis fra.

725 In Rauchryne thai aryvyt ar;
And to the land thai went but mar,
Armyt upon thar best maner.
Quhen the folk, that thar wonnand wer,
Saw men off armys in thar cuntre

730 Aryve in-to sic quantite,
Thai fled in hy, with thar catell,
Towart a rycht stalwart castell,
That in the land wes ner thar-by.
Men mycht her wemen hely cry,

735 And fle with cataill her and thar.
Bot the Kingis folk, that war
Deliver off fute, thaim gan our-hy;
And thaim arestyt haillely,
And brocht thaim to the King agayne,

740 Swa that nane off thaim all wes slayne.
Then with thaim tretyt swa the King,
That thai, to fullfill hys yharning,
Become his men evirilkane:
And has him trewly undretane

745 That thai and thairis, loud and still, Suld be in all thing at his will:
And, quhill him likit thar to leynd,
Evirilk day thai suld him seynd
Victalis for three hunder men:

750 And ay as lord thai suld him ken; Bot at thar possessioune suld be, For all his men, thair awyn fre.

738. Haillely is from H. S from E accepts hastely, but the former fits in better with line 740.

750. H has And ay for Lord they sould him ken. E And that as lord suld him ken, which S follows. Ay is metrically necessary. Cf. 758.

The cunnand on this wys was maid.
And on the morn, but langir baid
755 Off all Rauchryne bath man and page
Knelyt, and maid the King homage;
And tharwith swour him fewte,
To serve him ay in lawte:
And held him rycht weill cunnand.
760 For quhill he duelt in-to the land,
Thai fand meit till his cumpany;

And servyt him full humely,

## BOOK IV.

# How the Queen and Other Ladies were taken and imprisoned, and her Men slain.

I N Rauchryne leve we now the King In rest, for-owtyn barganying; And off his fayis a quhile spek we, That, throw thar mycht and thar powste,

5 Maid sic a persecucioune, Sa hard, sa strayt, and sa feloune, On thaim that till hym luffand wer, Or kyn, or freynd on ony maner; That it till her is gret pite.

To For thai sparyt, off na degre,
Thaim that thai trowit his freynd wer,
Nothir off the kyrk, na seculer.
For off Glaskow byschop Robert,
And Marcus off Man thai stythly speryt.

15 Bath in fetrys and in presoune.
And worthy Crystoll off Seytoun
In-to Lochdon betresyt was,
Throw a discipill off Judas.
Maknab, a fals tratour, that ay

20 Wes off his duelling, nycht and day; Quhom-to he maid gud cumpany. It wes fer wer than tratoury

17. Pinkerton read it Loudon (S). E has London. H Lochdon: on which see note.

For to betreys sic a persoune, So nobill, and off sic renoune.

25 Bot thar-off had he na pite: In hell condampnyt mot he be! For quhen he him betrasyt had, The Inglis men rycht with him rad In hy, in Ingland, to the King,

30 That gert draw hym, and hede, and hing, For-owtyn pete, or mercy.
It wes gret sorow sekyrly,
That so worthy persoune as he
Suld on sic maner hangyt be.

35 Thusgate endyt his worthynes. And off Crauford als Schyr Ranald wes. And Schyr Bruce als the Blar, Hangyt in-till a berne in Ar.

The Queyn, and als dame Marjory,
40 Hyr dochtyr that syne worthily
Wes coupillyt in-to Goddis band
With Walter, Stewart off Scotland;
That wald on na wys langar ly
In the castell off Kyldromy,

45 To byd a sege, ar ridin raith
With knychtis and with squyeris bath,
Throw Ros, rycht to the gyrth off Tayne.
Bot that travaill thai maid in vayne;
For thai off Ros, that wald nocht ber

50 For thaim na blayme, na yheit danger, Owt off the gyrth thame all has tayne; And syne has send thaim evirilkane Rycht in-till Ingland, to the King, That gert draw all the men, and hing;

55 And put the ladyis in presoune, Sum in-till castell, sum in dongeoun. It wes gret pite for till heir Folk till be troublyt on this maneir.

51. E hame (S).
58. E has the folk. Reading is from the Cambridge MS., which begins at line 57 (see Introd., 27). C has tribulit. C also has Kyndrumy throughout. I have kept the more familiar form in E.

### How Prince Edward of England besieged Kyldrumy.

THAT tyme wes in-to Kyldromy,
With men, that wycht war and hardy,
Schyr Neile the Bruce: and I wate weile
That thar the Erle wes off Adheill.
The castell weill victalyt thai,
And mete and fuell gan purvay;

65 And inforsit the castell sua,

That thaim thocht na strenth mycht it ta.

And quhen that it the King wes tald

Off Ingland, how thai schup to hald

That castell, he wes all angry;

70 And callit his sone till hym in hy, The eldest and apperande air, A yhoung bachiller, stark and fair, Schyr Edward callit off Carnavirnane, That wes the starkest man off ane

75 That men fynd mycht in ony cuntre; Prynce off Walys that tym wes he. And he gert als call erlis twa, Glowsister and Herfurd war thai; And bad thame wend in-to Scotland

80 And set a sege, with stalward hand, To the castell of Kildromy. And all the haldaris halely He bad distroy, without ransoun, Or bring thame till him in presoune.

## Here the King of England collects his Men in Scotland.

85 Quhen that the mandment all had tane, That assemblit ane ost on-ane, And to the castell went in hy, And it assegyt vigorusly;

60. C omits with, but the garrison was more than two! See note.

61. C omits and, giving line 62 as And thar wes, etc.

63. E begins In. C omits, 64. C begins With, 65. C begins Thaim. E as above. 83. E for-owtyn,

88. C has rygorusly.

And mony tyme full hard assalit; 90 Bot for to tak it yheit thame falit. For thai within war rycht worthy, And thame defendit douchtely; And ruschit thair fayis oft agayne; Sum best woundit, and sum wes slayne.

95 And mony tymes ysche thai wald, And bargane at the barras hald: And wound thair fayis oft and sla. Schortly thai thaim contenut swa. That thai without disparit war,

100 And thought till Ingland for to far; For thai sa stith saw the casteill. And wist that it wes warnist weill; And saw the men defend thame swa. That thai na hop had thame to ta.

105 Nane had that done all that sesoune, Gyff na had beyn thair fals tresoune. For thar within wes a tratour, A fals lurdane, ane losengeour, Osbarn to name, maid the tresoun,

110 I wate nocht for quhat enchesoun, Na quham-with he maid that covyne: Bot as thai said, that war thar-in, He tuk a culter hat glowand, That het wes in a fyre byrnand,

115 And went in-to the mekill hall, That than with corne wes fillit all, And heych up on a mow it did, Bot it full lang wes thar nocht hyd. For men sais oft that fyr, na pryd,

120 But discovering may na man hyd. For the pomp oft the prid furth shawis, Or ellis the gret bost that it blawis.

<sup>94.</sup> E has Sum best, sum woundyt, sum als slayne, where slayne as a past tense is impossible. The reading is from C, Skeat interpreting as Some of the best were, etc.

<sup>104.</sup> E has nane. C na.

Na mar may na man fyr sa covyr, Than low or rek sall it discovyr.

So fell it heir, for fyre all cleir Soyn throu the thik burd can appeir, Ferst as a sterne, syne as a moyne, And weill bradar thar-efter soyn The fyre out syne in blasis brast;

The fyre our all the castell spred,
Thar mycht no fors of men it red.
Than thai within drew till the wall,
That at that tym wes battalit all

135 Within, rycht as it wes with-out.
That battalyng, withouten dout,
Saffit thair liffis, for it brak
Blesis that wald thame ourtak.
And quhen thair fayis the myscheiff saw,

140 Till armys went thai in a thraw;
And assalit the castell fast,
Quhar thai durst come for fyris blast,
Bot thai, within that myster had,
Sa gret defens ande worthy maid,

145 That thai full oft thair fayis ruschit,
For thai nakyn peralis refusit.
Thai travaill for to sauf thair lifis:
Bot werd, that to the end ay driffis
The warldis thingis, sua thame travalit,

150 That thai on twa halfis war assalit.
Within with fyr, that thame sa brulyheit;
Without with folk, that thaim sa tulyheit,
That thai brynt magre thairis the yhet,
Bot for the fyre, that wes so het,

Thai durst nocht enter swa in hy.
Thar folk thar-for thai can rely,
And went to rest, for it wes nycht;
Till on the morn that day wes lycht.

123. C begins And thair may.

## How King Edward died in Burgh-in-Sand.

 $_{
m 160}$   $A^{
m T}_{
m War}$  thai within; the-quhethir thai Evir thame defendit worthely, And thame contenit sa manfully, That that or day, throu mekill pane, Had muryt up the yhet agane.

165 Bot on the morn, quhen day wes lycht, And sone wes ryssyn schynand brycht, Thai without in hale battale, Com purvait, reddy till assale. Bot thai within, that sa war stad,

170 That na wittaill na fuaill had, Quhar-with thai mycht the castell hald, Tretit ferst, and syne thame yhald To be in-to the Kyngis will, That than to Scottis wes full ill;

175 As soyn efter wes weill knawin, For thai war hangit all and drawin.

> Quhen this cunnand thus tretit wes, And affermit with sekirnes. Thai tuk thaim of the castell soyn.

180 And in till schort tyme has swa done, That all a quarter off Snawdoune, Rycht to the erd, thai tumlit doune. Syne toward Ingland wend thar way. Bot quhen the King Edward herd say

185 How Neyll the Bruce held Kildrummy Agane his sone sa stallwardly; He gaderit a gret chevelry, And toward Scotland went in hy.

And as in-to Northumbirland 190 He wes, with his gret rowt, rydand, A seiknes tuk him in the way; And put him in sa hard assay,

183. C has thai wend (S). E omits thai.

That he mycht nouthir gang no ryde.
Him worthit, magre his, abyde
195 In-till ane hamelat neir thair-by,
A litill toune, and unworthy.
With gret payn thiddir thai hym brocht;
He wes sa stad that he na mocht
Hys aynd bot with gret panys draw;
200 Na spek bot gif it war weill law.

The-quethir he bad thai suld him say
Quhat toune wes that, that he in lay.
"Schir," thai said, "Bowrch-in-the-Sand
"Men callis this toune, in-to this land."

205 'Call that it Burch? Allace!' said he,

'My hope is now fordone to me.
'For I wend nevir to thole the payn

'Of dede, quhill I, throu mekyll mayn,

'The Burch of Jerusalem had tane;

210 'My lif wend I thair suld be gane.
'In Burch I wist weill I suld de:

'Bot I was nouthir wis, no sle,
'Till othir burchis kepe to ta.

'Now may I no wis forthir ga.'

215 Thus plenyheit he off his folye; As he had mater sekirly, Quhen he wend to wit certante Of that at nane may certane be.

The-quhethir, men said enclosit he had
220 Ane spirit, that hym ansuer mad
Of thingis that he wald inqueir.
Bot he wes fule, forouten weir,
That gaf treuth to that creature.
For fendis ar of sic nature,
225 That thai to mankynd has invy;

For thai wat weill and wittirly,
That thai that weill ar liffand heir
Sall wyn the segis, quhar-of thai weir
Tumlit doune throu thair mekill pryde.

230 Quharfor of tymis will betyde.

218. C has that that (S). E that at.

That quhen fendis distrenyheit ar
For till apper and mak answar,
Throu force of conjuracioune,
That thai sa fals ar and felloune,
235 That thai mak ay thair ansuering,
In-till dowbill undirstanding,
Till dissaf thame that will thame trow.
Ensampill will I set heir now
Of a were, as I herde tell,
240 Betuix France and the Flemynnis fell.

The Erll Ferrandis moder was
Ane nygramansour; and Sathanas
Scho rasit; and him askit syne,
Quhat suld worth off the fichtyne
245 Betuix the Franch king and hir sone.
And he, as he all tyme wes wone,
In-to dissat maid his ansuer;
And said to hir thir versis heir.

#### The Lines about the War of Bosbek.

Rex ruet in bello tumulique carebit honore
250 Ferrandus, comitissa, tuus, mea cara Minerva,
Parisius veniet, magna comitante caterva.
This wes the spek he maid, perfay;
And is in Inglis for to say;
"The king sall fall in the fichting,
255 "And sall fale honor of erding;

"And thi Ferrand, Mynerff my deir, "Sall rycht to Paris went, but weir; "Followand him gret cumpany

"Of nobill men and of worthy."

This is the sentens off the saw,
That he in Latyne can hir schaw.
He callit hir his deir Mynerfe,
For Mynerfe ay wes wont to serfe
Him fullely at his devis.

265 And for scho maid the samyn service,

234. C has sa felloune (S). 244. C has fichtyne (S), and (254) fichting. 265. C gives maid him the sam (S). His Minerf hir callit he:
And als, throu his gret sutelte,
He callit hir deir, hir till dissaf,
That scho the titar suld consaf
270 Of his spek the undirstanding,
That plesit mast to hir liking.

His doubill spek hir sua dissavit,
That throu hir feill the ded resavit;
For scho wes of his ansuer blith,
275 And till hir sone scho tald it swith;
And bad him till the battale spede,
For he suld victor haf but drede.
And he, that herd hir sermonyng,
Sped hym in hy to the fichting;
280 Ouhar he discumfit wes and schent.

280 Quhar he discumfit wes and schent, And takyn, and to Paris sent. Bot in the fechting nocht-for-thi The kyng, throu his chevelry, Wes laid at erd, and lamyt bath,

285 Bot his men horsit hym weill rath. And quhen Ferrandis moder herd How hir sone in the battale ferd, And that he swa wes discumfit, Scho rasit the evill spirit als tit:

290 And askit quhy he gabbit had Of the ansuer that he hir mad. And he said that he suth said all; "I said the that the kyng suld fall "In the battale, and sua did he;

295 "And falys erding, as men may se.
"And I said that thi sone suld ga
"To Paris, and he did he rycht sua;
"Followand him sic a mengyhe

"Followand him sic a mengyhe, "That nevir, in his lif-tyme, he 300 "Had sic mengyhe at his leding.

"Now seis thow I maid na gabbing." The wif confusit wes, perfay, And durst no mair on-till him say.

268. For the second hir, C has sone (S). 301. C has mak (S).

Thusgat, throu doubill undirstanding,
That bargane come to sic ending,
That the ta part dissavit was:
Richt sua-gat fell it in this cas:

308 At Jerusalem thus trowit he
Gravyn in the burch to be;
The-quethir at Burch in-to the Sand
He suelt rycht in his awne land.

312 And quhen he to the ded wes ner, The folk, that at Kyldrummy wer, Com with the presoners at thai had tane, And syne unto the Kyng ar gane.

316 And for to confort him thai tald How thai the castell to thame yhald; And how thai to his will war brocht, Till do of thame quhat-evir he thocht;

320 And askit quhat thai suld of thaim do. Than lukit he angyrly thame to, And said gyrnand, "Hangis and drawis." It wes gret wounder of sic sawis;

324 That he, that to the ded wes neir, Suld ansuer apon sic maneir Forouten menyng of mercy, How mycht he trastly on hym cry,

328 That suthfastly demys all thing To haf mercy for his crying Of him that, throu his felony, Into sic poynt had no mercy?

332 His men his mandment has all done: And he deit thar-eftir sone; And syne wes brocht till berynes: His son syne eftir kyng he wes.

## How James of Douglas passed into Arran.

To Kyng Robert agane ga we,
That in Rauchryne, with his menyhe,
Lay till the wyntir neir wes gane,
And of that ile his met has tane.

340 James of Douglas wes angry
That thai so lang suld ydill ly;
And to Schir Robert Boyd said he;

"The pouir folk of this countre

344 "Ar chargit apon gret maner"Of us, that ydill lyis her."And I heir say that in Arane,"Intill a stith castell of stane,

348 "Ar Inglis men that with strang hand "Haldis the lordschip of the land. "Ga we thiddir; and weill may fall,

"Anoy thame in sum thing we sall."

352 Schir Robert said, "I grant thar-till.
 'To ly heir mair war litill skill:
 'Tharfor till Arane pass will we,

'For I knaw rycht weill that cuntre.

'And the castell alsua knaw I.

'We sall come thair sa prevely,

'That thai sall haff na persavyng,

'Na whoit witting of our cumpying.

'Na yheit witting of our cummyng.

360 'And we sall neir enbuschit be,
'Quhar we thair out-cummyng may se.
'Sa sall it on na maner fall,

'Than scath thame on sum wis we sall.'

364 With that thai buskit thame on-ane:
And at the Kyng thair leyf has tane,
And went thaim furth syne on thair way.
In-to Kentyre soyn cumin ar thai;

368 Syne rowit all-wayis by the land, Till at the nycht wes neir at hand; Than till Arane thai went thair way, And saufly thair arivit thai.

372 And under ane bra thair galay dreuch, And syne it helit weill ineuch; Thair takill, ayris, and thair stere, Thai hyde all on the samyn maner:

376 And held thair way rycht in the nycht, Sa that, or day wes dawyn lycht,

372. In a glen, E H. 375. C has sam (S) as in 265.

Thai war enbuschit the castell neir, Arayit on the best maneir.

- 380 And thouch thai wate war and wery, And for lang fastyng all hungry, Thai thoucht to hald thame all preve, Till that thai weill thair poynt mycht se.
- 384 Schir John the Hastyngis, at that tyde, With knychtis of full mekyll pryde, And squyaris and gude yhemanry, That war a weill gret cumpany,

388 Wes in the castell of Brathwik.

And oftsis, quhen it wald him lik,

He went to hunt with his menyhe

And sua the land abandonit he,

392 That nane durst warn to do his will. He wes in-to the castell still, The tym that James of Douglas, As I haf tald, enbuschit was.

396 Sa hapnyt at that tyme, throu chans, With vittalis and ek purvians, And with clething, and with armyng, The day befor, in the evynnyng,

400 The undirwardane arivit was,
With thre batis, weill neir the place
Quhar that the folk I spak off ar
Prevely enbuschit war.

404 Soyn fra the batis saw that ga Of Inglis men thretty and ma, Chargit all with syndry thing, Sum bare wyne, and sum armyng:

408 The remanand all chargit were With thingis on syndry manere:
And othir syndry yheid thame by,
As thai war masteris, ydilly.

412 Thai that enbuschit war thame saw, Ande, for-outen dreid or aw,

398. C omits second with (S). 402, 403. C has ere . . . were (S).

Thair buschement apon thame thai brak, And slew all that thai mycht ourtak.

416 The cry rais hydwisly and hee:
For thai, that dredand war to de,
Rycht as bestis can rair and cry,
Thai slew thaim for-outen mercy;

420 Swa that, in-to the samyn sted, Weill neir to fourty thar war ded.

Quhen thai, that in the castell war, Herd the folk sa cry and rair, 424 Thai yschit furth to the fechtyng; Bot quhen Douglas saw thar cummyng, His men till hym he can rely,

And went till meit thame hastely.
428 And quhen thai of the castell saw
Hym cum on thaim forouten aw,

Thai fled forouten mair debate; And thai thame followit to the yhate,

432 And slew of thame, as thai in past. Bot thai thair yhet barrit so fast, At thai mycht do at thame no mair: Tharfor thai left thame ilkane thair,

436 And turnit to the see agane,

Quhar that the men war forrow slane.

And quhen thai that war in the batis

Saw thair cummyng, and wist how-gatis

440 Thai had discumfit thair menyhe, In hy thai put thame to the se, And rowit fast with all thare mayn. Bot the wynde wes thame agayn,

That it gert sa the land-brist rys,
That thai mycht weld the se na wis.
Na thai durst nocht cum to the land,
Bot hald thame thair so lang hobland,

448 That of thre batis drownyt twa, And quhen Dowglas saw it wes swa, He tuk the armyng, and cleything, Vittalis, wyne, and othir thing At thai fand thar; and held thair wa

452 At thai fand thar; and held thair way Rycht glad and joyfull of thair pray.

# The Coming of King Robert Bruce to Arran.

O<sup>N</sup> this wis James of Douglas, And hys menyhe, throu Goddis grace,

456 War weill releyit with armying,
With vittale als and with clething;
Syne till a strenth thai held thair way,
And thame full manly governit thai;

460 Till on the tend day at the King, With all that war in his ledyng, Arivit in-to that cuntre,

With thretty small galais and thre.

464 The King arivit in Arane;
And syne to the land is gane,
And in a toune tuk his herbery:
And sperit syne full specialy,

468 Giff ony man couth tell tithand
Of ony strange men in that land.
"Yhai," said a woman, "Schir, perfay,

"Of strange men I can yhow say,
472 "That ar cumin in this cuntre,

"And schort quhile sen, throu thare bounte,

"Thai haff discumfit our wardane, "And mony of his folk has slane.

476 "In-till a stalward place heir-by "Reparis all thair cumpany."

'Dame,' said the King, 'wald thou me wis

'To that place quhar thair repair is,

480 'I sall reward the but lesing,

For that ar all of my duelling;

'And I richt blithly wald thame se, 'And richt sua trow I thai wald me.'

456. Relevit in E.

458. C gives strate (S). H strait. E as above, which seems more fitting.

481. C I wald (S).

- 484 "Yhis," said scho, "Schir, I will blithly "Ga with yhow and yhour cumpany, "Till that I schaw yhow thair repair."
  'That is eneuch, my sister fair;
- 488 'Now ga furthwardis,' said the Kyng.
  Than went thai furth but mair letting,
  Followand hir as scho thame led,
  Till at the last scho schewit a sted
- 492 Till the King, in a woddy glen,
  And said; "Schir, heir I saw the men,
  "That yhe speir eftir, mak luging:
  "Heir trow I be thair reparyng."
- And gert the men, that war him by, Hald thaim still, and all prive; And syne agane his horn blew he.
- 500 James of Dowglas herd him blaw, And he the blast all soyn can knaw; And said, "Suthly yhon is the Kyng: "I knaw lang quhill syne his blawyng."
- 504 The thrid tym thar-with-all he blew, And than Schir Robert Boyde it knew, And said, "Yhon is the King, but dreid; "Ga we furth till hym bettir speid."
- 508 Than went thai till the King in hy, And him salusit full curtasly; And blithly welcumit thame the Kyng, That joyfull wes of thair meting,
- 512 And kyssit thame, and sperit syne How thai had farn in thair huntyne. And thai hym tald all but lesyng: Syne lovit thai God of thair meting.
- 516 Syne with the Kyng to his herbry Thai wend, bath joyfull ande joly.

<sup>498.</sup> C gives Hald thame all still than preve (S). E as in text. 513. C has onlyne, whence honlyne (S).

How the King sent his Man to spy in Carrick who were to him Friendly.

THE King apon the tothir day Can till his preve menyhe say; 520 "Yhe knaw all weill, and wele may se, "How we ar out of our cuntre "Banyst, throu Inglis mennys mycht; "And that, that ouris suld be of richt, 524 "Throu thair mastrice thai occupy; "And wald alsua, without mercy, "Gif thai had mycht, distroy us all. "Bot God forbeid that it suld fall 528 "Till us, as thai mak mannasyng! "For than war thair na recoveryng. "And mankynd biddis us that we "To procur vengeans besy be. 532 "For yhe may se we haf thre thingis "That makis us amonestyngis "For to be worthy, wis, and wicht, "And till anoy thame at our mycht. 536 "Ane is our liffis savite, "That suld on na wis savit be, "Gif thai had us at thair liking. "The tothir that makis us egging, 540 "Is that thai our possessioune "Haldis with strinth agane resoune. "The thrid is the joy that we abyde, "Gif that it hapyn, as weill may tyde, 544 "That we haf victor and mastry "Till ourcum thair felony. "Tharfor we suld our hertis rais, "Sua that na myscheif us abais; 548 "And schape all-wayis to that ending "That beris mensk and ek lovyng. "And tharfor, lordis, gif yhe se "Emang yhow that it spedfull be, 552 "I will send a man to Carrik, "To spy and speir how the kynrik,

525. E for-owtyne. 536. E sawfte.

523. C gives And it (S).

"Is led, or quha is frend or fa.

"And gif he seis we land may ta,

556 "On Turnberys snuke he may
"Mak a fyre, on a certane day,
"And mak taknyng till us, that we
"May thair ariffe in-to saufte.

72

560 "And gif he seis we may nocht swa;
"Luk on na wis the fyre he ma.

"Swa may we than throw haff wittering "Of our passage or our duelling."

"Of our passage, or our duelling."

564 To this spek all assentit ar.
And than the King, withouten mair,
Callit till him ane that wes preve,
And born of Carrik his cuntre:

568 And chargit him, in les and mare, As yhe herd me devis it are; And set him certane day to may The fyr, gif he saw it wes sway

572 That that had possibilite
To manteme were in that cuntre.
And he, that wes richt weill in will
His lordis yharnyng to fulfill,

576 As he that worthy wes and leill, And couth secretis rycht weill conceil, Said, he wes boune in-till all thing For till fullfill his commaunding:

580 And said he suld do sa wisly,
That na repreif suld eftir ly,
Syne at the King his leif has tane;
And furth apon his way is gane.

584 N OW gais the messinger his way, That hat Cutbert, as I herd say. In Carrik soyn arivit he, And passit throu all the cuntre.

588 Bot he fand few thair-in, perfay,
That gud wald of his mastir say.
For feill of thame durst nocht for dreid,
And othir-sum rycht in-to ded

556. C Turnberyis nuk (S); but see note.

592 War fais to the nobill Kyng, That rewit syne thair barganyng. Bath hye and law, the land wes then All occupyit with Inglis men;

596 That dyspitit, atour all thing, Robert the Bruce the douchty Kyng. Carrik wes gevyn than halely To Sir Henry the lord Persy;

600 That in Turnberyis castell then
Wes, with weill neir thre hundreth men;
And dantit suagat all the land,
That all wes till hym obeysand.

604 This Cutbert saw thair felony,
And saw the folk sa halely
Be worthyn Inglis, rich and pure,
That he to nane durst hym discure.

608 Bot thoucht to leif the fyre unmaid, Syne till his mastir to wend but baid, And all thair covyne till hym tell, That wes sa angry and sa fell.

## Of the Fire the King saw Burning.

612 THE Kyng, that in-to Arane lay, Quhen that cumin wes the day, That he set till his messyngere, As I devisit yhow lang ere,

616 Eftir the fyre he lukit fast;
And als soyn as the moyn wes past,
Hym thoucht weill that he saw a fyre,
By Turnbery byrnand weill schyre;

620 And till his menyhe can it schaw:

Ilk man thoucht weill that he it saw.

Than with blith hert the folk can cry;

"Gud king, speid yhow deliverly;

624 "Swa that we soyn in the evynnyng "Arif, withouten persavyng."

'I grant,' said he, 'now mak yhow yhair.
'God furthir us in-till our fair!'

616. E none. H noone.

Than in schort tym men mycht thaim se Schute all thair galais to the se, Ande beir to se bath ayr and steir, And othir thyngis that mystir weir.

#### Here the King's Hostess foretells what is to be, and gives him her Two Sons.

And as the King apon the land Wes gangand up and doun, bydand Till that his menyhe reddy war,

His hostes come rycht till hym thar.

636 And quhen that scho him halsit had, A preve spek till hym scho mad, And said, "Ta gude tent to my saw: "For or yhe pas I sall yhow schaw

640 "Of yhour fortoun a gret party. "And atour all thing specialy "A wittering heir I sall yhow may,

"Quhat end that your purpos sall ta. 644 "For in this warld is nane trewly

"Wat thingis to cum sa weill as I. "Yhe pas now furth on yhour viage,

"To venge the harme and the outrage

648 "That Inglis men has to yhow done; "Bot vhe wat nocht quhat-kyn forton "Yhe mon dre in yhour warraying. "Bot wit yhe weill, without lesing,

652 "That fra yhe now haf takyn land, "Thair sal no micht, no strinth of hand, "Ger yhow furth pas of this cuntre

" Quhill all to yhow abandonyt be. 656 "Within schort tym yhe sall be king,

"And haf the land at yhour liking, "And ourcum yhour fayis all; "Bot feill anoyis thoill yhe sall,

660 "Or that yhour purpos ende haf tane; "Bot yhe sall thame ourdriff ilkane. " And, that yhe trow this sekirly,

" My twa sonnys with yhow sall I

644. E land.

"Send to tak with yhow yhour travell;
"For I wat weill thai sall nocht fale
"Till be rewardit weill at rycht,
"Quhen yhe ar heyt on to yhour hicht."

The Kyng, that herd all hir carpyng,
Than thankit hir in mekill thing;
For scho confortit hym sumdeill:
The-quhethir he trowit nocht full weill

672 Hir spek, for he had gret ferly
How scho suld wit it sekirly:
As it wes wounderfull, perfay,
How ony man throu steris may

676 Knaw the thingis that ar to cum
Determinabilly, all or sum,
Bot gif that he enspirit war
Of him, that all thing evirmar

680 Seis in his presciens,

\*As it war ay in his presens:

As David wes, and Jeromy,

Samuell, Joell, and Ysay,

That throu his haly grace can tell

684 Feill thingis that eftirward befell.
Bot thai prophetis so thyn ar sawin,
That nane in erd now is knawin.
Bot feill folk ar sa curious.

688 And to wit thingis sa covatous, That thai, throu thair gret clergy, Or ellis throu thair devilry, On thir twyn maners makis fanding

692 Of thingis to cum to haf knawing.

Ane of thame is astrology,

Quhar-throu clerkis, that ar witty,

May knaw conjunctione of planetis,

696 And quhethir that thair cours thaim settis

\* Pinkerton, whose numbering of the lines is followed by Skeat, omits this line by an oversight.

686. C has That their in erd now nane is knawin (S). Reading from E. H has nane in eird.

In soft segis, or in angry; And of the hevyn all halely How that the disposicioune

700 Suld apon thingis wirk heir doune, On regiones, or on climatis, That wirkis nocht ay-quhar a-gatis, Bot sum ar les, sum othir mair,

704 Eftir as thair bemys strekit air, Owthir all evin, or on wry. Bot me think it war gret mastry Till ony astrolog to say

708 This sall fall heir, and on this day. For thouch a man his liff haly Studeit swa in astrology, That on the sternis his hed he brak,

712 Wis men sais he suld nocht mak, His liftyme, certane domys thre; And yheit suld he ay dout quhill he Saw how that it com till ending:

716 Than is thar na certane demyng.
Or gif thai men that will study
In the craft of astrology,
Knaw all mennis nacioune,

720 And als the constillacioune That kyndly maneris giffis thaim til, For till inclyne to gud or ill; How that thai throu craft of clergy,

724 Or throu slicht of astrology, Couth tell quhatkyn perell apperis To thame that haldis kyndly maneris; I trow that thai suld faill to say

728 The thingis that thame happyn may. For quhethir sa men inclynit be Till vertu or to mavite,

He may richt weill refrenyhe his will,
732 Outhir throu nurtour or throu skill,
And to the contrar turne him all.
And men has mony tymis seyn fall,
That men, kyndly to ivill giffin,

736 Throu thair gret wit away has drivin

Thair evill, and worthyn of gret renoune, Magre the constillacioune.

As Arestotill, gif, as men redis,

740 He had followit his kyndly dedis, He had beyn fals and covatous; Bot his wit maid him virtuous. And syn men may on this kyn wis

744 Wirk agane that cours, that is Principal caus of thair demyng, Me think thair dome na certane thing. Nigramansy ane othir is,

748 That kennys men on syndry wis, Throw stalward conjuraciones, And throw exorcizaciones, To ger spiritis to thame apeir,

752 And gif ansuer on seir maneir. As quhilom did the Phitones, That, quhen Saull abasit wes Of the Philistianis mycht,

756 Rasit, throu hyr mekill slycht, Samuelis sperit als tit, Or in his sted the evill spirit, That gaf rycht graith ansueir hir to.

760 Bot of hir-self rycht nocht wist scho. And man is in-to dreding ay Of thingis that he has herd say, And namly of thingis to cum, quhill he

764 Have of the end the certante. And sen that ar in sic wenyng, Fourouten certane witting, Me think, quha sayis he knawis thingis

768 To cum, he makis gret gabbingis.

Bot quhethir scho that tald the King
How his purpos suld tak ending,
Wenit, or wist it witterly;

772 It fell eftir all halely As scho said: for syne king wes he, And of full mekill renomme.

753. C That (S): As E H.

764. Knaw in E H.

#### BOOK V.

## Of the King's Handseling in Carrick at his First Arrival.

THIS wes in vere, quhen wyntir tyde, With his blastis hydwis to byde, Wes ourdriffin: and byrdis smale,

- 4 As thristill and the nychtingale, Begouth rycht meraly to syng, And for to mak in thair synging Syndry notis, and soundis sere,
- 8 And melody plesande to here.
  And the treis begouth to ma
  Burgeonys, and brycht blumys alsua,
  To wyn the heling of thar hevede.
- 12 That wikkit wyntir had thame revede; And all grevis begouth to spryng. In-to that tyme the nobill King, With his flot and a few menyhe,
- 16 Thre hundir I trow that mycht weill be, Is to the se, furth of Arane A litill forrow the evyn gane.

Thai rowit fast with all thar mycht,
Till that apon thame fell the nycht,
That it wox myrk on gret maner,
Swa that thai wist nocht quhar thai wer.
For thai na nedill had na stane;

- 24 Bot rowyt alwayis in-till ane, Stemmand alwayis apon the fyre, That thai saw byrnand licht and schire. It wes bot aventur that thame led:
- 28 And thai in schort tym swa thame sped, That at the fyre arivit thai, And went to land but mair delay.
- 13. E gressys. 17. Is in E. C and H give Went, which must be wrong. S alters to Wes. Cf. 254.

25. E Sterand all tyme.

27. E omits that, and with aventur accented as in line 69 it seems superfluous.

And Cuthbert, that has seyn the fyre, 32 Wes full of angir and of ire, For he durst nocht do it away; And he wes alsua doutand ay That his lord suld pas the se.

36 Tharfor thair cummyng watit he, And met thame at thair ariving. He wes weill soyne brocht to the King, That sperit at hym how he had done.

40 And he with sair hert tald him sone, How that he fand nane weill willand, Bot all war fais that evir he fand: And at the lord the Persy,

44 With neir thre hundreth in cumpany, Was in the castell thar besyde, Fulfillit of dispit and pride. Bot mair than twa part of his rowt

48 War herbreit in the toune tharout;
"And dispisis yhow mair, Schir King,
"Than men may dispis ony thing."
Than said the Kyng, in full gret ire,

52 'Tratour, quhy maid thou on the fyre?'
"A! Schir," said he, "sa God me se!
"That fyre wes nevir maid on for me.
"Na, or this nycht, I wist it nocht;

56 "Bot fra I wist it, weill I thocht
"That yhe, and haly yhour menyhe,
"In hy suld put yhow to the se.
"Forthi I com to meit yhow her,

60 "To tell peralis that may aper."

The King wes of his spek angry, And askit his preve men in hy, Quhat at thame thocht wes best to do.

64 Schir Edward ferst answerd thar-to, His brothir that wes so hardy, And said: "I say yhow sekirly "Thar sall na peralis that may be,

68 "Dryve me eftsonis to the se.

65. E brodyr.

"Myne aventure heir tak will I, "Quhethir it be eisfull or angry."

'Brothir,' he said, 'sen thou will sa,

72 'It is gud that we sammyn ta 'Dises or ese, or pyne or play, 'Eftir as God will us purvay.

'And sen men sais that the Persy

76 'Myne heritage will occupy,

'And his menyhe sa neir us lyis,

'That us dispytis mony wys;

'Ga we venge sum of the dispit,

80 'And that we may haf don als-tit;

'For thai ly trastly, but dreding 'Of us, or of our heir-cummyng.

'And though we slepand slew thaim all,

84 'Repreif us tharof na man sall.

'For weriour na fors suld ma, 'Quhethir he mycht ourcum his fa

'Throu strynth, or throu sutelte; 88 'Bot at gud faith ay haldin be.'

# Here the King secretly enters the Town and slays All.

Quhen this wes said thai went thare way; And till the toun soyn cumin ar thai, Sa prevely, bot noys making,

92 That nane persavit thair cummyng. That scalyt throu the toune in hy, And brak up dures sturdily, And slew all that that mycht ourtak:

of And that that na defens mycht mak, Full pitwisly couth rair and cry; And that slew thame dispituisly, As that that war in-to gud will

100 To venge the angir and the ill, That thai and thairis had to thaim wrocht; Thai with so felloun will thaim socht, That that slew thame evirilkane,

104 Outtak Makdowall hym allane, That eschapit throu gret slicht, And throu the myrknes of the nycht. In the castell the lorde Persy 108 Herd weill the noyis and the cry:

Sa did the men, that with-in wer, And full effraytly gat thair ger. But off thaim wes nane sa hardy,

In sic afray that baid that nycht,
Till on the morn that day wes licht:
And than cesit in-to party

The King gert be departit then

The King gert be departit then All haill the reif amang his men; And duelt all still thair dais thre.

120 Sic hansell to the folk gaf he, Richt in the first begynnyng, Newly at his arivyng.

# A Certain Lady, a Relative of the King, comes to him with Forty Men.

Owhen at the King and his folk ware

124 Arivit, as I tald yhow are,
A quhill in Carrik lendit he,
To se quha frend or fa wald be.
Bot he fand litill tendirnes:

128 And nocht-for-thi the pepill wes Inclynit to hym in-to party; Bot Inglis men sa angirly Led thame with danger and wyth aw,

132 That that na frendschip durst him schaw. Bot a lady of that cuntre, That wes till hym in neir degre Of cosynage, wes wounder blith

136 Of his arivale, and als swith Sped hir till hym, in full gret hy, With fourty men in cumpany,

109-112. From E. C omits by an oversight, reading on from the second cry.

138. E and H fourty: xv. (S); but Skeat inserts the rubric containing xl, from E.

And betacht thame all to the King, 140 To help hym in his warrayng. And he resavit thame in daynte, And hir full gretly thankit he;

And hir full gretly thankit he; And sperit tithandis of the Queyn, 144 And of his frendis all bedeyn,

That he had left in that cuntre,

Quhen that he put hym to the se.

And scho hym tald, sychand full sair,

148 How that his brothir takyn wair In the castell of Kildrummy, And syne destroyit sa vilonysly; And of the Erll Adell alsua:

That till his party war heldand, War tane and led in-to Ingland, And put in-to feloun presoune.

156 And how that Cristole of Setoun Wes slane, gretand scho tald the King, That soroufull wes of that tithing; And saide, quhen he had thoucht a thraw,

160 Thir wordis that I sall yhow schaw:—

"Allas," he said, "for luf of me, "And for thair mekill laute,

"Thai nobill men and thai worthy,

"Ar distroyit sa vilonisly!
"Bot and I lif in lege pouste,

"Thair ded sall rycht weill vengit be.
"The King the-quhethir of Ingland

168 "Thought that the kinrik of Scotland

"Wes to litill to hym and me; Tharfor I will it all myn be.

"Bot of gud Cristal of Setoune,

172 "That wes of sa nobill renoune, "That he suld de war gret pite,

"Bot quhar worschip mycht prufit be."

162. C omits thair, and adds gud after mekill (S).

## Here Henry Percy flies to England.

THE Kyng thus sychand maid his mayn,
And the lady hir leif has tane,
And went hyr hame to her wonnyng.
And feill sis confort scho the Kyng
Bath with silver and with met,

180 As scho in-to the land mycht get. And he oft ryot to the land, And maid all his that evir he fand; And syne he drew him to the hicht,

184 To stynt bettir his fayis mycht. In all that tym wes the Persy, With a full sympill cumpany, In Turnberyis castell lyand;

188 For the King Robert sua dredand, That he durst nocht ysche out to fair, Fra thine to the castell of Air, That than wes full of Inglismen;

192 Bot lay lurkand as in a den, To the men of Northumberland Suld cum armyt, and with strang hand, Till convoy him till his cuntre.

196 For his saynd till thame send he: And thai in hy assemblyt then, Passand, I trow, a thousand men, And askit avisment thame emang.

200 Quhethir at thai suld duell or gang. Bot thai war schonand wounder sair So fer in Scotland for to fair. For a knycht, Schir Gawter the Lile,

204 Said it wes all to gret perell
So neir the schavalduris to ga.
His spek discomfort thame all sua,
That thai had left all that viage,

208 Na war a knycht of gret corage, That Schir Roger of Sanct Johne hicht,

181. For to E gives all. H omits and reads ryoted. 204. C omits all (S).

That thame confort with all his mycht;
And sic wordis can till thame say,
That thai all sammyn held thair way
To Turnbery; quhar the Persy
Lap on, and went with thaim in hy
In-to Ingland his castell till,
Without distrowbilling or ill.

Now in Ingland is the Persy,
Quhar he, I trow, a quhill sall ly,
Or that he schap hym for to fair
To warray Carrik ony mar.
For he wist that he had no richt;
And als he dred the Kyngis mycht,
That in Carrik wes travalland,

224 Quhar the mast strynth wes of the land. Quhar James of Douglas, on a day, Com to the Kyng, and can him say; "Schir, with yhour leiff, I wald ga se

228 "How that thai do in my cuntre; "And how my men demanit are.

"For it anoyis me wounder sare, "That the Clyffurd sa pesabilly

"That suld be myn with alkyn rycht.

"Bot quhill I liff, and may haf mycht"

To lede a yheman or a swane,

236 "He sall nocht bruk it but bargane."
The Kyng said; 'Certis I can nocht se
'How that thou yheit may sekir be
'In-to that cuntre for to fair.

240 'Quhar Inglis men sa mychty are;
'And thou wat nocht quha is thi frend.'
He said, "Schir, neidwais I will wend,
"And tak aventur that God will giff,

"Quhethir sa it be till de or liff."
The King said, 'Sen that it is sua,
'That thou sic yharnyng has to ga,

220. E ony. C has than no (S).

'Thou sall pas furth with my blessing.

248 'And gif the hapnys ony thing

'That anoyus or scathfull be,

'I pray the, speid the soyne to me;

'Tak we sammyn quhat-evir may fall.'

252 "I grant," he said; and thar-with-all He lowtit, and his leyf has tane, And is towart his cuntre gane.

# The Passing of James of Douglas to Douglas-dale, his Heritage.

N OW takis James his viage
Toward Douglas, his heritage,
With twa yhomen, forouten ma;
That wes a sympill stuff to ta,
A land or castell for to wyn!

260 The-quhethir he yharnyt to begyn To bryng his purpos till ending; For gude help is in begynnyng. For gude begynnyng and hardy,

264 And it be followit wittely,
May ger oftsis unlikly thing
Cum to full conabill endyng.
Sa did it her: bot he wes wis,

268 And saw he mycht, on nakyn wis, Warray his fais with evyn mycht; Tharfor he thoucht to wirk with slight. In Douglasdaill, his awn cuntre,

272 Apon ane evynnyng enterit he, And with a man wonnit thar-by, That wes of frendis richt mychty,

And rich of mubill and catell,
276 And had been till his fader lele;
And till him-self, in his yhoutheid,
He had done mony thankfull deid.
Thom Dicson wes his name, perfay.

280 Till him he send and can him pray, That he wald cum all anerly For to spek with hym prevely. And he but danger till him gais:
284 Bot fra he tald him quhat he wes,
He gret for joy and for pite,
And hym richt till his hous had he;
Quhar in a chalmer prevaly

288 He held him and his cumpany,
That nane of him had persaving.
Of mete and drink and othir thing,
That mycht thaim eis, thai had plente.

292 Swa wroucht he than throu sutelte, That all the leill men of the land, That with his fader wes duelland, This gud man gert cum, ane and ane,

296 And mak him manrent evirilkane; And he him-self first homage maid. Douglas in hert gret blithnes had, That the gud men of his cuntre

300 Wald swa-gat bundin till him be. He sperit the covyn of the land, And quha the castell had in hand. And thai him tald all halely;

304 And syne emang thame prevaly
Thai ordanit, that he still suld be
In hyddillis, and in prevate,
Till Palme Sonday that wes neir hand,

308 The thrid day eftir followand.

For than the folk of the cuntre

Assemblit at the kirk wald be;

And that that in the castell were,

312 Wald als be thar, thar palmys to bere, As folk that had na dreid of ill; For thai thoucht all wes at thar will. Than suld he cum with his twa men.

316 Bot, for that men suld nocht him ken, He suld a mantill haf, ald and bare, And a flaill, as he a taskar war. Undir the mantill nocht-for-thi

320 He suld be armyt prevaly;

298. Blithness in C (S). E glaidschip. H gladnesse.

And quhen the men of his cuntre, That suld all bown befor him be, His ensenyhe mycht heir him cry,

324 Than suld thai, full enforsaly, Richt in myddis the kirk assale The Inglis men with hard batale, Swa that nane mycht eschap thaim fra;

328 For thar-throu trowit that to ta
The castell, that besyde wes neir.
And quhen this, that I tell yhow her,
Wes devisit and undirtane,

332 Ilkane till his hous is gane; And held the spek in prevate, Till the day of thair assemble.

## Here James of Douglas slays them in the Kirk.

THE folk apon the Sononday
Held to Sanct Brydis kirk thair way;
And thai that in the castell were
Ischit out, bath les and mare,
And went thair palmys for to bere;

340 Outane a cuke and a portere. James of Douglas of thare cummyng And quhat thai war, had wittering; And sped him to the kirk in hy.

344 Bot, or he com, to hastely
Ane of his cryit, "Douglas! Douglas!"
Thomas Dicsone, that nerest was
Till thame that war of the castel,

348 That war all innouth the chancell, And quhen he "Douglas!" sa herd cry, Drew out his suerd, and fellely Ruschit emang thame to and fra.

352 And ane othir forouten ma;
Bot thai in hy war left lyand.
With that Douglas com rycht at hand,
That than enforsit on thame the cry.

356 Bot thair chancer full sturdely

354. E Quhill Dowglas.

355. E And then.

Thai held, and thaim defendit weill, Till of thair men war slayne sumdeill. Bot the Douglas so weill him bare,

360 That all the men that with hym ware, Had confort of his weill-doing; And he him sparit na-kyn thing, Bot prufit swa his foris in ficht,

364 That throu his worschip, and his mycht, His men sa kenly helpit he than, That thai the chanser on thame wan. Than dang thai on thame sa hardely,

368 That in schort tym men mycht se ly
The twapart ded, or than deand.
The laiff war sesit soyn in hand.
Swa that of threttie wes levit nane,

372 Na thai war slane ilkane, or tane.

### Here makes he "the Douglas Larder."

James of Douglas, quhen this wes done, The presoners has tane alsone; And with thame of his cumpany

376 Towart the castell went in hy, Or ony noys or cry suld ris. And for he wald thame soyn suppris, That levit in the castell were,

380 That war but twa forouten mare, Fiffe men or sex befor send he, That fand all oppyn the entre; And enterit, and the portar tuk

384 Richt at the yhat, and syne the cuk.
With that Douglas come to the yhet,
And enterit in forout debat,
And fand the met all reddy grathit,

388 With burdis set, and clathis layit.

The yhettis than he gert thame spare,
And sat and ete all at lasare.

371. Threttie is from H. Others give numerals, 388. C has laid (S), which is no rhyme.

Syne all the gudis tursit thai,

392 Thai thought that thai mycht haf away; And namly wapnys and armyng, Silver, tresour, and ek clethyng. Vittalis, that mycht nocht tursit be,

396 On this maner distroit he.
All the vittale outakin salt,
As quhet, flour, meill and malt,
In the wyne-sellar gert he bryng;

And the presoners that he had tane Richt tharin gert he hed ilkane; Syne of the tunnys the hedis out-strak:

404 A foull melle thair can he mak.
For meill, malt, blude, and wyne,
Ran all to-gidder in a mellyne
That wes unsemly for to se;

408 Tharfor the men of that cuntre
For sic thingis thar mellit were,
Callit it "the Douglas Lardenere."
Syne tuk he salt, as I herd tell,

And ded hors, and fordid the well; And syne brynt all, outakyn stane; And is furth with his menyhe gane Till his reset; for him thocht weill,

416 Gif he had haldin the casteill,
It suld have beyn assegit rath,
And that him thoucht to mekill vath;
For he na hop had of reskewyng.

420 And it is to perelous thing
In castell till assegit be,
Ouhar that ane wantis of thir thre,
Vittale, or men with thair armyng,

424 Or than gud hop of reskewing.

And for he dred thir thingis suld fale,
He chesit forthward to travale,
Quhar he mycht at his larges be,

428 And sua driff furth his destane.

ON this wis wes the castell tane, And slane that war tharin ilkane. The Douglas syne all his menyhe

432 Gert in seir placis departit be;
For men suld les wit quhar thai war,
That yheid departit here and thar.
Thame that war woundit gert he ly

436 In-till hyddillis all prevely;
And gert gud lechis to thame bryng,
Quhill that thai war in-to helyng.
And him-self, with a few menyhe,

Quhile ane, quhill twa, and quhile thre,
And umquhile all hym allane,
In hyddillis throu the land is gane.
Sa dred he Inglis mennys mycht,

That he durst nocht weill cum in sicht; For thai that tyme war all weldand As mast lordis our all the land.

#### Here Clifford builds the Castle again.

Bot tythandis, that scalis sone,
448 Of the deid Douglas had done,
Com to the Cliffurdis ere in hy,
That for his tynsale wes sary,
And menit his men that he had slayne,

452 And syne has till his purpos tane
To byg the castell up agane,
Tharfor, as man of mekill mane,
He assemblit gret cumpany,

- And till Douglas he went in hy.
  And biggit up the castell swith,
  And made it rycht stalward and stith;
  And put thar-in vittale and men.
- 460 Ane of the Thrill-wallis then He left behynd hym capitane, And syne till Ingland went agane.

447. Is from E. C reads Bot the tithandis war scalit sone (S), which leaves Com (449) without a subject.
448. Is from C. E has Off this deid that Douglas has done.

# How one Man and his Two Sons undertook to slay King Robert.

In-to Carrik yheit wes the King,
464 With a full sympill gaderyng;
He passit nocht twa hundreth men.
Bot Schir Edward his brothir then
Wes in Galloway, weill neir tharby;

468 With hym ane othir cumpany.

Thai held the strynthis of the land;

For thai durst nocht yheit tak on hand

Till our-ride the land planly.

472 For of Vallanch Schir Amery Wes in-till Edinburgh lyand, That wes wardane of the land Under-neth the Inglis kyng.

476 And quhen he herd of the cummyng
Of King Robert and his menyhe
In-to Carrik; and how that he
Had slane of the Persyis men;

480 His consell he assemblit then,
And, with assent of his consale,
He send till Are, hym till assale,
Schir Ingerame Bell, that wes hardy,

484 And with hym a gret cumpany.

# Here the English Knight fees a Traitor.

And quhen Ingerame cumin wes thair, Him thought nocht speidfull for to fair Till assale hym in-to the hight.

488 Tharfor he thought to wirk with slycht, And lay still in the castell than, Till he gat spering at a man Of Carrik, that wes sle and wicht,

And als a man of mekill mycht, As of the men of that cuntre And to King Robert wes preve. As he that wes his sib-man neir,

496 And quhen he wald, for-out danger,

483. Name a misreading: see note.

Micht to the Kyngis presens ga. The-quhethir he and his sonnis twa War wonand still in the cuntre,

500 For thai wald nocht persavit be,
That thai war speciall to the King;
Thai maid him mony tyme warnyng,
Quhen that thai his tynsale mycht se;

504 For-thi in thame affyit he.
His name I can nocht tell perfay;
Bot I herd syndir men oft say
\*Forsuth that his ane e wes out;
\*Bot he sa sturdy wes and stout,

That he wes the mast dowtit man 508 That in-to Carrik liffit than. And quhen Schir Ingerame gat wittering Forsuth that this wes no gabbing,

Eftir him in hy he sent,
512 And he com at his commandment.
Schir Ingerame, that wes sle and wis,
Tretit with hym than on sic wis,
That he maid sekir undirtaking

516 In tresone for to slay the King;
And he suld have for his service,
Gif he fulfillit thair devis,
Weill fourte pundis worth of land
520 Till hym and his ayris lestand.

# Here King Robert is in Great Peril.

THE tresone thus is undirtane; And he hame till his hous is gane, And watit opportunite

524 For to fulfill his mavite.
In gret perell than wes the King,
That of his tresone wist na thing.
For he, that he trowit mast of ane,
528 His dede falsly had undirtane:

And nane may treson do titar than he

<sup>\*</sup> In C and H. E omits. 507. C has worthy (S) for dowtit in E.

That man in trowis leawte.

The King in hym trastit; for-thi 532 He had fulfillit his felony, Na war the King, throu Goddis grace, Gat hale wittering of his purchas, And how, and for how mekill land,

536 He tuk his slauchtir upon hand. I wat nocht quha the warnyng maid, Bot in all tym he sic hap had, That quhen men schupe him to betrais,

540 He gat witting tharof alwayis: And mony tyme, as I herd say, Throu women, that he wald with play, That wald tell all that that mycht here.

544 And sua mycht happyn that it fell here.

Bot how that evir it fell, perde, I trow he sall the warrar be. Nocht-for-thi, this tratour ay

548 Had in his thocht, bath nycht and day, How he mycht best bring till ending His tresonabill undirtaking; Till he umbethocht him at the last,

552 In till his hert can umbecast, That the King had in custum ay For to ris airly evirily day, And pas weill fer fra his menyhe,

556 Quhen he wald pas to the preve, And seik a covert him alane, Or at the mast haf with him ane. Thair thought he, with his sonnys twa,

560 For to suppris the King, and slay, And syne wend to the wod away: Bot yheit of purpos falyheit thai. And nocht-for-thi thai com all thre

564 In a covert that wes preve, Quhar the King wes oft wount to ga, His preve nedis for to ma. Thair hid thai thame till his cummyng.

568 And the King in the mornyng,

Rais quhen that his liking wes, And richt towart that covert gais, Quhar liand war the traitouris thre,

572 For till do thar his prevate.
To treson tuk he than no heid:
But he wes wount, quhar-evir he yheid,
His suerd about his hals to bere;

576 And that avalit hym gretly ther.

For had nocht God, all thing weldand,
Set help in-till his awne hand,
He had ben ded withouten dreid.

580 A chalmir page thar with him yheid. And sua, forouten followis ma, Towart the covert can he ga.

### Here the Noble King slays three Traitors, Himself, Alone.

Now, bot God help the nobill King,

584 He is neir hand till his ending! For that covert that he yheid till, Wes on the tothir syde a hill, That nane of his men mycht it se.

588 Thiddirward went his page and he; And quhen he cummin wes in the schaw, He saw that thre cum all on raw Aganis him full sturdely.

592 Than till his boy he said in hy, "Yhone men will slay us and thai may! "Quhat wappyn has thou?" 'A Schir! perfay,

'I haf a bow bot and a vyre.'
596 "Gif me thame smertly baith." 'A! Syre,

'How-gat will yhe than that I do?'
"Stand on fer and behald us to.

"Gif thow seis me abovin be,

600 "Thou sall haf wapnys in gret plente: "Ande gif I de, withdraw the soyne." With thai wordis, forouten hoyn,

> 576. C thar (S). 577. C all-weldand (S), which is a syllable short. 586. C and H have syde of. E omits.

He tit the bow out of his hand,
604 For the tratouris wes neir cumand.
The fader had a suerd but mair,
The tothir bath suerd and hand-ax bair,
The thrid a suerd had and a speir.

608 The King persavit, be thair effeir, That all wes suth men till hym tald. "Tratour," he said, "thou has me sald.

"Cum na forthir, bot hald the thair,

612 "I will thou cum na forthir mair."
'A! Schir, umbethinkis yhow,' said he,
'How neir to yhow that I suld be;
'Quha suld cum neir to yhow bot I?"

616 The King said, "I will sekirly
"That thou at this tym cum nocht ner,
"Thou may say quhat thou will on fer."

Bot he, with fals wordis flechand,

620 Wes with his sonnys ay cumand. Quhen the King saw he wald nocht let, Bot ay cum on fenyheand falset, He tasit the vyre and leit it fle,

624 And hit the fader in the e, Till it rycht in the harnys ran; And he backward fell doun rycht than. The brothir, that the hand-ax bar,

628 That saw his fader lyand thar, A gyrd rycht to the King can mak, And with the ax he him ourstrak. Bot he, that had his suerd on hicht,

632 Raucht him sic rout in randoun richt, That he the hed to harnis clafe, And him doun ded to the erd drafe. The tothir brothir, that bare the spere,

636 Saw his brothir sa fallin ther,
With his speir, as angry man,
In a rais till the King he ran.
Bot the King, that him dred sum-thing,

640 Watit the sper in the cummyng, And with a wysk the hed of-strak; And or the tothir had toym to tak His suerde, the King sic swak him gaiff, 644 That he the hede till harnys claif: He ruschit doune of blude all rede. And quhen the King saw thai war ded, All thre lyand, he wyppit his brand.

648 With that his boy com fast rynand, And said; "Our Lord mot lovit be, "That grantit yhow mycht and powste "To fell the felony and pride

652 "Of thir thre in sa litill tyde."

The King said; 'Sa our Lord me se! 'Thai had beyn worthy men all thre, 'Had thai nocht beyn full of tresoune;

656 'Bot that maid thair confusione.'

### BOOK VI.

The King is went till his luging. And of his dede soyn com tithing To Schir Ingerame the Umphrevell,

4 That thought his sutelte and gyle Had all falyheit in-to that place. Tharfor anoyit swa he wes,

That he agane to Lowdiane 8 To Schir Amer his gate has tane; And till him tald all haill the cas, That tharof all forwounderit was,

How ony man sa suddandly
Micht do so gret a chevelry,
As did the King, that, him alane,
Vengeans of thre tratouris has tane.
He said, "Certis I may weill se

16 "That it is all gret certante"That ure helpis ay hardy men;"As be this deid yhe may weill ken.

<sup>7.</sup> C gives sair (S): E swa, which is needed to correlate with That.

<sup>14.</sup> C has the thre (S).

<sup>18.</sup> C has by (S). E be, which is the correct Scots form.

"War he nocht outrageous hardy 20 "He had nocht swa unabasitly

"Sa smertly seyn his avantage.

"I dreid that his gret vassalage, "And his travell will bring til end

24 "That at men quhile full litill wend."

### Here Galloway Men seek him.

Sik speking maid he of the King, That ay, forouten sudjornyng, Travalit in Carrik heir and thair.

28 His men fra him sua scalit war, Till purches thame necessite And als the cuntre for to se, That that left nocht with him sexty.

32 And quhen the Gallowais wist suthly That he wes with a few menyhe, Thai maid a preve assemble

Of weill twa hundreth men and ma;

36 Ane sluth-hund with thaim can that ta, For that thought him for to suppris; And gif he fled on ony wis, To follow him with the hunde swa,

40 That he suld nocht eschape thaim fra.

Thai schupe, thame in ane evynnyng, Suddandly to suppris the King, And till him held thai straucht thare way.

44 Bot he, that had his wachis ay On ilk syde, of thar cummyng, Lang or thai com, had wittering, Quhat and how feill at that mycht be.

48 Tharfor he thought, with his menyhe, To withdraw him out of the place, For the nycht neir fallyn was. And for nycht wes he thought that thai

52 Suld nocht have sicht to hald the way

31. E thai. C thair (S). 24. It that in C and S.

Quhill he war passit with his menyhe. And as he thought rycht sua did he: And went hym doune till a marras,

56 Our a wattir that rynand was; And in a bog he fand a place Weill strate, that weill twa bowdraucht was Fra thai the wattr passit had.

60 He said, 'Heir may yhe mak abade, 'And rest yhow all a quhile and ly.

"I will ga wach all preuely,

"Giff I heir oucht of thar cummyng;

64 "And gif I may heir ony thyng, "I sall ger warn yhow, sua that we "Sall ay at our avantage be."

### Here he fights alone against Two Hundred.

THE King now takis his gat to ga,
And with him tuk he servandis twa.
And Schir Gilbert de la Hay left he
Thar, for to rest with his menyhe.
To the wattir he com in hy,

72 And lisnyt full ententily
Gif he oucht herd of thare cummyng;
Bot yheit than mycht he heir na thing.
Endlang the wattir than yheid he

76 On athir syde gret quantite; And saw the brayis hye standand, The wattir holl throu slike rynand, And fand na furd that men mycht pas

80 Bot quhar himself our passit was.
And sua strate wes the up-cummyng
That twa men mycht nocht sammyn thryng,
Na on na maner pres thame sua

84 That thai sammyn the land mycht ta.

\*85 His twa men bad he than in hy Ga to thair feris to rest and ly;

56. C has On (S), but cf. line 86, where S adopts our from H. 84. E gives that to gidder mycht lang ga, and H similarly.

\* 85-92 are from C. They are not consistent with 103-106, and hese again are not in agreement with 295, 296. E omits the first set.

For he wald wach thar com to se.

\*88 "Schir," said thai, "quha sall with yhow be?"
"God," he said, "forouten ma;
"Pas on, for I will it be swa."

Thai did as he thame biddin had,

\*92 And he thar all allane abaid.

Quhen he a quhile had biddin thare,

And herbryit, he herd as it war

A hundis quhistlyng apon fer,

88 That ay com till him ner and ner.

He stude still for till herkyn mair,

And ay the langer quhill he wes thair,

He herd it ner and ner cumand:

92 Bot he thought he thair still wald stand, Till that he herd mair taknyng, For, for a hundis quhestlyng, He wald nocht walkyn his menyhe.

96 Tharfor he walde abyde and se Quhat folk thai war, and quethir thai Held toward him the richt way; Or passyt ane othir way fer by:

Sa lang he stude, that he mycht her The noyis of thaim that cummand wer. Than his twa men in hy send he

To warne and walkyn his menyhe.
And thai ar furth thar wayis gane;
And he left thar all hym allane.
And sua lang stude he herkynand,

Till that he saw cum at his hand The haill rowt, in full gret hy; Than he umbethoucht him hastely, Gif he yheid to feche his menyhe,

That, or he mycht reparit be,
Thai suld be passit the furde ilkane.
And than behufit he chesit him ane
Of thir twa, outhir to fle or de.

116 Bot his hert, that wes stout and he,

92. C arranges Bot he thair still thought (S).

Consalit hym allane to byde And kep thame at the furdis syde, And defend weill the up-cummyng,

120 Sen he wes warnysit of armyng
That he thair arrawis thurt nocht dreid.
And gif he war of gret manheid,
He mycht stonay thame evirilkane,

124 Sen thai mycht cum bot ane and ane. He did rycht as his hert hym bad; Stark outrageous curage he had, Quhen he sa stoutly hym allane,

128 For litill strynth of erd, has tane
To ficht with twa hundreth and ma.
Thar-with he to the furd can ga.
And thai, apon the tothir party,

That saw him stand thair anerly, Thryngand in-till the wattir raid, For of him litill dout thai had; And raid till him in full gret hy.

136 He smat the first sa rygorusly
With his spere, that richt scharply schare,
Till he doun to the erd hym bare.
The laif com than in a randoune;

140 Bot his hors, that wes born doune, Cummerit thaim the upgang to ta. And quhen the Kyng saw it wes sua, He stekit the hors, and he can flyng,

144 And syne fell at the upcummyng.

The laif with that com with a schowt;
And he, that stalward wes and stout,
Met thame richt stoutly at the bra,

148 And sa gud payment can thaim ma
That fiff-sum in the furd he slew.
The laif than sumdeill thaim with-drew,
That dred his strakis woundir sare,

152 For he in nathing thame forbare. Than ane said: "Certis, we ar to blame;

"Quhat sall we say quhen we cum hame, "Quhen a man fechtis agains us all?

156 "Quha wist evir men sa fouly fall

"As us, gif that we thusgat leif?"
With that all haill a schout thai geve,
And cryit, "On hym! he may nocht last."

That, had he nocht the bettir beyn, He had beyn ded forouten weyn. Bot he sa gret defens can mak,

164 That, quhar he hit with evin strak, Thar mycht no thing agane it stand. In litill space he left lyand Sa feill, that the upcom wes then

168 Dittit with slayn hors and men; Swa that his fayis, for that stopping, Micht nocht cum to the up-cummying. A! deir God! quha had beyn by,

172 And seyn how he sa hardely
Adressit hym agane thame all,
I wat weill that thai suld him call
The best that liffit in-till his day.

176 And gif that I the suth sall say, I herd nevir in na tyme gane Ane stynt sa mony hym allane.

# Example: how Tydeus slew Forty-nine Men, And the Lieutenant tholed Shame and Paine.

SUTH is, quhen till Ethiocles
180 Fra his brothir Polynices
Wes send Thedeus in-to message
Till ask haly the heritage
Of Thebes till hald for a yheir,

184 For thai cummyn of a byrth weir; Thai straif, for athir kyng wald be. Bot the barnage of thar cuntre Gert thame assent on this maner,

188 That the tane suld be kyng a yhere; And than the tothir, na his menyhe, Suld nocht be fundin in the cuntre, Quhill the first brothir ryngand were.

192 Syne suld the tothir ryng a yhere; 184. E and H give twynnys, twynnes for cummyn. Ande syne the first suld leif the land, Qubill that the tothir war ryngand. Thus ay a yheir suld ryng the tane,

To ask halding of this assent,
Thedeus wes to Thebes went;
And sua spak for Polynices,

200 That of Thebes Ethiocles
Bad his constabill with hym ta
Fifty weill armyt, and forouth ga
To meit Thedeus in the way,

204 And slay hym but langar delay.
The constabill his way is gane,
And nyne and fourty with him has tane,
Swa that he with thame maid fifty.

208 In-till the evynnyng, prevely
Thai set enbuschement in the way,
Quhar Thedeus behufit away
Betuix ane hye crag and the se.

212 And he, that of thair mavite
Wist na thing, his way has tane,
And toward Grece agane is gane.
And as he raid in-to the nycht,

216 Sa saw he, with the monys licht, Schynyng of scheldis gret plente; And had woundir quhat it mycht be. With that all haill thai gaf a cry,

220 And he, that herd sa suddanly Sic noyis, sumdeill affrayit was; Bot in schort time he till him tais His spiritis full hardely;

224 For his gentill hert and worthy, Assurit him in-till that neide. Then with the spuris he strak his steide, And ruschit in amang thame all.

228 The first he met he gert him fall,
And syne his suerd he swappit out,
And raucht about him mony a rout,
And slew sex-sum weill soyn and ma,

232 Than undir him his hors thai sla.

And he fell; bot he smertly rais, And, strikand, rowm about him mais, And slew of thame a quantite: 236 Bot woundit woundir sair wes he.

> With that a litill rod he fand, Up toward the crag strikand. Thiddir went he in full gret hy,

240 Defendand him full douchtely,
Till in the crag he clam sum-deill;
And fand a place enclosit weill,
Quhar nane but ane mycht him assale.

Thair stude he and gaf thame battale:
And thai assalit evirilkane;
And oft fell, quhen that he slew ane,
As he down to the erd wald driff,

248 He wald beir doun weill four or fiff.
Thair stude he and defendit swa,
Till he had slane thame half and ma.
A gret stane than by him saw he,

252 That throu the gret anciente, Was lowsyt reddy for to fall; And quhen he saw thaim cumand all, He tumlit doun on thaim the stane;

256 And aucht men tharwith has he slane, And sua stonait the remanand, That thai war weill neir recryand. Then wald he preson hald no mare,

260 Bot on thame ran with suerd al bare, And hewit and slew with all his mayn Till he had nyne and fourty slane. The constabill syne can he ta,

264 And gert him suere that he suld ga To King Ethiocles, and tell The aventure that thame befell. Thedeus bare him douchtely,

268 That our-com him allane fyfty.

Yhe that this redis, jugis yhe, Quhethir that mair suld presit be: The King, that, with avisment,
272 Undirtuk sic hardyment
As for to stynt, him ane but fer,
Thai folk that weill twa hundreth wer;
Or Thedeus, that suddanly,

276 Fra thai had rasit on him the cry, Throu hardyment that he had tane, Wan fifty men all him allane.

Thai did thair dede bath in the nycht, 280 And faucht bath with the monys licht;

Bot the King discumfit ma,
And Thedeus the ma can sla.
Now demys, quhethir mair lovyng

284 Suld Tedeus haf, or the King!

I N this maner that I haf tald,
The King, that stout wes, stark and bald,
Wes fechtand on the furdis syde,
288 Gyffand and takand rowtis ryde;
Till he sic martirdome thair maid
That he the furde all stoppit had,

That nane of thame mycht till him ryde.

292 Than thought thame foly for to byde,
And halely the flicht can ta,
And went hamward quhar thai com fra.

For the Kingis men with that cry

296 Walknyt, and full affraitly, Com for to seik thair lord the King. The Galloway men herd thair cummyng And fled, that durst nocht byde no mair.

300 The Kingis men, that dredand wair For thair lord, full spedaly Com to the furde, and soyn in hy Thai fand the Kyng sytand alane,

To tak the air, for he wes hate;

288, C has woundis wyde (S), but there is no hint of the King's wounds; cf. line 315. E has rowtis roid, H routes red. Cf., however, Bk. XV., 54, which indicates that the line is a stock one in both forms.

Than sperit thai at him of his stat; And he tald thaim all haill the cas,

308 Howgat that he assalyheit was; And how that God hym helpit sua, That he eschapit haill thame fra. Than lukit thai how feill war ded,

312 And thai fand liand in that sted Fourteyn, that slayn war with his hand. Than lovit thai God fast, all-weldand, That thai thar lord fand haill and feir;

316 And said, "Thaim byrd on na maner "Dreid thair fayis, sen thair chiftane "Wes of sic hert and of sic mane, "That he for thame had undertane

320 "With sa feill folk to ficht him ane."

SYK wordis spak thai of the Kyng:
And, for his hye undertaking
Farlyit, and yharnyt hym to se,
That with hym ay wes wount to be.
A! quhat worschip is prisit thing!
For it makis men to haf loving,
Gif it be followit ythandly.

328 For pris of worschip nocht-forthi Is hard to wyn but gret travale; Oft till defende and oft assale, And till be in thair dedis wis,

332 Gerris men of worschip wyn the pris.
That may no man haf worthyhede,
Bot he haf wit to steir his stede
And se quhat is to leif or ta.

336 Worschip extremyteis has twa; Fule-hardyment the formast is, And the tothir is cowardis: And thai ar bath for to forsak.

340 Fule-hardyment will all undertak, Als weill thingis to leiff as ta; Bot cowardis dois na thing sua, Bot uterly forsakis all;

25. E perfyt. H a perfite.

- 344 And that war woundir for to fall, Na war falt of discrecione. For-thi has worschip sic renoune, That it is mene betuix thai twa,
- 348 And takis that is till undirta, And levis that is to leif; for it Has so gret warnasyng of wit, That it all peralis weill can se,

352 And all avantagis that may be.
It wald till hardyment hald haly,
With-thi away war the foly.
For hardyment with foly is wis.

356 Bot hardyment that mellit is With wit, is worschipay, per de, For, but wit, worschip may nocht be.

This nobill Kyng, that we of reid, 360 Mengit all tyme with wit manheid; That may men be this melle se. His wit hym schawit the strat entre Of the furde, and the ysche alsua;

364 He thought that that mycht nevir our-ga Apon a man that wes worthy. Tharfor his hardyment hastely Thought weill it mycht be undirtane,

368 Sen that anis mycht assale bot ane. Thus hardyment, governit with wit, That he all tym wald sammyn knyt, Gert him off worschipe haf the pris,

372 And oft our-cum his enymys.

## How Douglas slew Thirlwall.

THE King in Carrik duelt all still:
His men assemblit fast him till,
That in the land war travalande,
376 Quhen thai of this deid herd tithand.

360. E Mellyt.

<sup>364.</sup> E has That, as him thocht, war hard to ta. H That him thought was hard to ta.

<sup>373.</sup> E ay still.

For thai thar ure with him wald ta, Gif he war eft assalyheit swa. Bot yheit than James of Douglas

380 In Douglasdaill travaland was; Or ellis weill neirhand thar-by, In hiddillis sum-deill prevely. For he walde se his governyng,

384 That hade the castell in keping:
And gert mak mony a juperdy,
To se quhethir he wald ysche blithly.
Quhen he persavit weill that he

388 Wald blithly ysche with his menyhe, He maid a gaddering prevely Of thame that war of his party; That wes so feill that thai durst ficht

392 With Thrillwall and all the mycht Of thame that in the castell were. He schup him in the nycht to fare To Sandylandis; and neir thar-by

396 He him enbuschit prevely,
And fand a few a trayn to ma;
That sone in the mornyng can ta,
Cattale, that wes the castell by,

400 And syne with-drew thame halely Toward thame that enbuschit ware. Than Thrillwall, forouten mare, Gert arme his men forouten baid;

404 And yschit with all the men he had, And followit fast eftir the ky. He wes arayit at poynt clenly, Outakyn that his hede wes bair.

408 Than, with the men that with him war,
The cattale followit he gude speid,
Richt as a man that had no dreid,
Till that he of thame gat a sicht.

412 Than prikit thai with all thair mycht, Followand thame out of aray; And thai sped thame fleand, quhill thai Fer by thar buschement war all past; 416 And Thrillwall evir chasit on fast. And than thai that enbuschit war Yschit till him, bath les and mar, And rasit suddandly the cry;

420 And that that saw sa suddandly
That folk sa egirly cum prikand
Betuix thame and thair warrand,
Thai war in-to full gret affray.

424 And, for thai war out of aray, Sum of thaim fled, and sum abaid: And Douglas, that thar with him had A gret menyhe, full egirly

428 Assalit, and scalit thame hastely, And in schort tym cummerit thaim sua, That weill nane eschapit thaim fra. Thrillwall, that wes thair capitane,

432 Wes thair in-to the bargane slane, And of his men the mast party; The laif fled full affrayitly. Douglas his menyhe fast can chas,

436 And the flearis thair wais tais
To the castell in full gret hy;
The formast enterit spedely,
Bot the chassaris sped thame so fast,

And thame forout mercy can sla.

And quhen thai of the castell swa

Saw thaim slay of thair men thaim by,

444 Thai sparit the yhettis hastely, And in hy to the wallis ran. James of Douglas his menyhe than Sesit weill hastely in hand

448 At thai about the castell fand; Till thair reset syne went thair way. Thusgat yschit Thrillwall that day. 452 OWHEN Thrillwall on this maner
Had yschit, as I tell yhow heir,
James of Douglas and his men
Buskit thame all sammyn then,
And went thair way toward the Kyng

456 In gret hy; for that herd tithyng
That of Vallanch Schir Amery,
With a full gret chevelry
Bath of Inglis and Scottis men,

460 With gret felony war reddy then
Assemblit for to seik the Kyng,
That wes that tym with his gaderyng
In Cumnok, quhar it stratest was.

464 Thiddir went James of Douglas, That wes richt welcum to the Kyng. And quhen he tald had that tithing, How that Schir Amer wes cumand

468 For to hunt hym out of the land
With hund and horn, rycht as he were
A wolf, a theif, or thefis fere;
Than said the King: "It may weill fall,

472 "Thouch he cum and his power all, "We sall abyde in this cuntre; "And gif he cumis we sall him se."

# Here Sir Aymer and John of Lorn follow King Robert with a Sleuth-hound.

The King spak apon this maner; 476 And of Vallanch Schir Amer Assemblit a gret cumpany Of nobill men and of worthy, Of Ingland and of Lowdiane.

480 And he has alsua with him tane
Johne of Lorn and all his mycht,
That had of worthy men and wicht
With him aucht hundreth men and ma.

484 A sleuthhund had he thar alsua, Sa gude that change wald for na thing. And sum men sayis yheit that the King As a strecour him nurist had,
488 And ay sa mekill of hym maid,
That with his hand he wald hym feyd.
He followit hym quhar-evir he yheid;
Swa that the hund hym lufit swa,

492 That he wald part na wis him fra.
Bot how that John of Lorn him had,
I herd nevir mencione be made.
Bot men sais it wes certane thing

496 That he had him in his sesing,
And throu hym thoucht the Kyng to ta;
For he wist he hym luffit swa,
That fra he mycht anys feill

500 The Kyngis sent, he wist rycht weill That he wald change it for na thyng. This John of Lorn hatit the King For Schir John Cumyn his emys sak;

504 Micht he him outhir sla or tak, He wald nocht pris his liff a stra, With-thi he vengeans on hym mycht ta.

# How Sir Aymer and John of Lorn Chased the King with Hound and Horn.

The wardane than, Schir Amery, 508 With Johne of Lorne in cumpany, And othir of gud renoune alsua, Thomas Randale wes ane of thai, Come in-till Cumnok to seik the King,

512 That wes weill war of thar cummyng, And wes up in the strenthis then, And with hym weill thre hundreth men. His brothir that tyme with him was,

516 And alsua James of Douglas.
Schir Ameryis rout he saw,
That held the playn ay and the law,
And in haill battale alwayis raid.

511. From E. C has That cum in Cunnok to seik the King (S), which leaves the first group of subjects without a predicate. H has Came in.

514. H three. E iiij, a stroke too many.

520 The Kyng, that na supposing had That thai war mair than he saw thair, Till thame, and nouthir ellis-quhar, Had ey, and wroucht unwittandly.

524 For Johne of Lorn full sutelly Behynd thoucht to suppris the Kyng. Tharfor with all his gaderyng, About ane hill he held his way,

528 And held hym in-to covert ay,
Till he so neir com to the Kyng,
Or he persavit his cummyng,
That he wes cummyn on hym weill neir.

532 The tothir host and Schir Amer Presit on the tothir party. The Kyng wes in gret juperdy, That wes on athir syde umbeset

536 With fayis that to slay hym thret, And the lest party of thame twa Was starkar fer na he, and ma. And quhen he saw thame pres him to,

540 He thought in hy quhat wes to do, And said, "Lordis, we haf no mycht "As at this tyme for to stand and ficht. "Thar-for departis us in thre,

544 "All sall nocht swa assalyheit be:
"And in thre parteis hald our way."
Syne till his consall can he say,
Betuix thame in-to prevate,

548 In quhat stede thar repair suld be.

With that thair gat all ar thai gane, Ande in thre partis thair way has tane. Than John of Lorn com to the plas 552 Quhar-fra the Kyng departit was,

And in his trais the hund he set, That than, forouten langar let, Held evyn the way eftir the Kyng,

556 Richt as he had of him knawing, And left the tothir parteis twa, As he na kepe to thame wald ta. And quhen the Kyng saw his cummyng, 560 Eftir his route in-till a lyng,
He thought that knew that it was he:
Therfor he had till his manyha

Tharfor he bad till his menyhe Yheit than in thre depart thame sone;

564 And thai did sua forouten hoyn, And held thair way in thre parteis. The hund did than sa gret mastris, That he held ay, forout changing,

568 Eftir the rout quhar wes the Kyng.

And quhen the Kyng has seyn thaim sua All in a rout eftir hym ta

The way, and follow nocht his men,
572 He had a gret persavying then
That thai knew him; for-thi in hy
He bad his men richt hastely
Scale, and ilk man hald his way

576 All be hym-self, and sua did thai. Ilk man a syndri gat is gane, And the King has with him tane His forstir brothir, forouten ma,

580 And sammyn held thair gat thai twa. The hund alwais followit the Kyng, And changit nocht for na parting, Bot ay followit the Kyngis tras,

584 But wavering, as he passit was.

And quhen that Johne of Lorn saw
The hund so hard eftir hym draw,
And followit straucht eftir thai twa,

588 He knew the Kyng wes ane of thai, And bad five of his cumpany, That war richt wicht men and hardy, And als on fute spediast ware

592 Of all that in that rout war thar, Ryn eftir hym, and him our-ta, And lat him na wys pas thaim fra.

561. C has he knew (S). E and H as text. 594. From E. C has And let hym na-wis pas yhow fra (S), passing suddenly to direct speech. H has you.

# Here Five Chosen Men are sent to take the King.

And fra thai herd had the biddyng, 596 Thai held the way eftir the Kyng. And followit hym so spedely, That thai him weill soyn can our-hy. The King than saw thame cumand ner,

600 And wes anoyit in gret maner, For he thoucht, gif thai war worthy, Thai mycht hym travale and tary, And hald hym suagat taryand

604 Till the remanand suld cum at hand.
Bot had he dred bot anerly
Thame five, I trow all sekirly
He suld nocht haf full mekill dreid.

608 And till his fallow, as he yheid, He said, "Yhon five ar fast cumand: "Thai ar weill neir now at our hand. "Swa is thair ony help with the?

612 "For we sall soyn assalit be."
'Yha, Schir,' he said, 'all that I may.'
"Thou sais weill," said the Kyng, "perfay.

"I se thame cumand till us neir. 616 "I will na forthir, bot richt heir

"Byde, quhill that I am in aynd, "And se quhat fors that thai can faynd."

#### \*How the King slew the five men That John of Lorn sent to him then.

The Kyng than stude full sturdely, 620 And the five soyn, in full gret hy, Com with gret schoyr and mannasyng. Thre of thame went on-to the Kyng; And till his man the tothir twa

624 With swerd in hand can stoutly ga.

The Kyng met thame that till hym socht,
And till the first sic rowt he rocht,
That ere and cheik down in the hals

628 He schare, and of the schuldir als

<sup>\*</sup> The rubric is from H, inserted at line 598. C runs on

He ruschyt doun all desaly. The twa, that saw sa suddanly Thair fallow fall, effrayit war,

632 And stert a litill ouirmair.

The Kyng with that blenkyt him by,
And saw the twa full sturdely
Agane his man gret melle ma.

636 With that he left his awn twa,
And till thame that faucht with his man
A lowp richt lychtly maid he than,
And smat the hed of of the tane.

To mete his awn syne is he gane.
Thai com on hym rycht hardely.
He met the first sa egyrly,
That with his swerd, that scharply schare,

644 The arm he fra the body bare.

Quhat strakis thai gaf I can nocht tell,
Bot to the Kyng so fair befell,
That, thouch he travale had and payn,

648 He of his famen four has slayn. His fostir brothir eftir soyn The fift has out of dawis done.

And when the King saw that all fiff
652 War on that wis broucht out of lif,
Till his fallow than can he say,
"Thou has helpit richt weill, perfay."
'It likis yhow to say sua,' said he,

656 'Bot the gret part to yhow tuk yhe,
'That slew four off the fyve, yhow ane.'
The Kyng said; "As the glew is gane,

"Bettir than thou I mycht it do, 660 "For I had mair lasair thar-to.

"For the twa fallowis that delt wyth the, "Quhen thai me saw assalyheit with thre,

656. C Bot till (S). E gives the. Skeat in his note suggests to = too for till!
657. C has That slew four or I slew ane (S). E as in text, and H similarly.
661. C begins The (S).

Of me richt na kyn dout thai had;

"For thai wend I wes stratly stad.
"And for-thi that thai dred me nocht,
"Noy thaim fer out the mair I moucht."
With that the Kyng lukyt hym by,

668 And saw of Lorn the cumpany
Neir, with thair sleuthhund fast cumand;

Than till a wod, that wes neir hand, He went with his fallow in hy.

672 God sauf thame for his gret mercy!

#### BOOK VII.

How John of Lorn sought the Good King Robert Bruce with the Sleuth-hound.

THE Kyng toward the wod is gane, Wery, for-swat, and will of wayn.

In-till the wod soyn enterit he,

4 And held down toward a vale
Ouhar throu the wod a wattir ran.
Thiddir in gret hy went he than,
And begouth to rest hym thair,

8 And said he mycht no forthirmar. His man said; "Schir, that may nocht be:

"Abyde yhe heir, yhe sal soyn se

"Five hundreth yharnand yhou to sla,

"And that ar fele aganis twa;
"And, sen we may nocht deill wyth mycht,
"Help us all that we may wyth slycht."
The King said; 'Sen that thou will swa,

16 'Ga furth, and I sall with the ga.

'Bot I haf herd oftsis say,

'That quha endlang a wattir ay

'Wald wayd a bow-draucht, he suld ger

20 'Bath the sleuthhund and the ledar, 'Tyne the sleuth men gert him ta,

Pruf we gif it will now do swa.

'For war yhon devillis hund a-way,

24 'I roucht nocht of the layff, perfay.

#### Here the Sleuth-hound lost his Scent.

As he devisit thai haf done,
And enterit in the wattir sone,
And held on endlang it thar way,
28 And syne to the land yheid thai,
And held thair way as thai did ere.
And John of Lorn, with gret effere,
Com with his rout richt to the place,

32 Quhar that his five men slan was. He menyt thame quhen he thaim saw; And said, eftir a litill thraw, That he suld wenge in hy thar blude:

36 Bot othir wayis the gammyn yhude.
Thair wald he mak no mair duelling,
Bot furth in hy followit the King,
Richt to the burn thai passit ar;

40 Bot the sleuth-hund maid stynting thar, And waveryt lang tyme to and fra, That he na certane gat couth ga; Till at the last than Johne of Lorn

44 Persavit the hund the sleuth had lorn, And said; "We haf tynt this travell; "To pas forthir may nocht avale; "For the wode is bath braid and wyde,

48 "And he is weill fer be this tyde.
"Tharfor I rede we turn agane,
"And wast no mair travale in vayn."
With that releyt he his menyhe,
52 And his way to the host tuk he.

#### Or else he was Slain with an Arrow.

THUS eschapit the nobill Kyng.
Bot sum men sais, this eschaping
Apon ane other maner fell

56 Than throu the wading; for thai tell That the Kyng a gud archer had, And quhen he saw his lord swa stad, That he wes left swa anerly,
60 He ran on fut alwayis him by,
Till he in-till the wod wes gane.
Then said he till hym-self allane,
That he arest rycht thair wald ma,
64 And luk gif he the hund mycht sla.

64 And luk gif he the hund mycht sla. For gif the hund mycht lest on lif, He wist full weill that thai wald drif The Kyngis tras till thai hym ta;

68 Than wist he weill thai wald him sla.
And for he wald his lord succour,
He put his lif in aventur.
And stud in-till a busk lurkand

72 Quhill that the hund com at his hand, And with ane arrow soyn him slew, And throu the wod syne hym withdrew. Bot quhethir his eschaping fell

76 As I tald first, or now I tell, I wat it weill, without lesyng, At that burn eschapit the King.

# How the Three Men that bare the Wedder Sheep thought to have slain King Robert Bruce.

THE King has furth his wayis tane.

80 And Johne of Lorn agane is gane
To Schir Amer, that fra the chas
With his men than reparit was,
That litill sped in thair chassing;

84 For thow that thai maid following

Full egirly, thai wan bot small;
Thair fayis neir eschapit all.
Men sais, Schir Thomas Randale than,

88 Chassand, the Kyngis baner wan; Quhar-throu in Ingland wyth the Kyng He had rycht gret price and lovyng. Quhen the chaseris releit war,

92 And Johne of Lorn had met thaim thar, He tald Schir Amer all the cas, How that the King eschapit was; And how that he his fif men slew, 96 And syne he to the wod hym drew. Quhen Schir Amer herd this, in hy He sanyt hym for the ferly, And said; "He is gretly to pris;

"That at myscheif can help hym swa.

"I trow he suld be hard to sla
"And he war bodyn all evynly."

104 On this wis spak Schir Amery.

## Here Three Traitours meet the King, with a Wedder.

And the gud Kyng held furth his way,
He and his man, ay quhill that thai
Passit owt throu the forest war;
Syne in a mure thai enterit ar.
That wes bath hee and lang and braid;
And or thai half it passit had,

Thai saw on syde thre men cumand,
Lik to licht men and waverand.
Swerdis thai had and axis als.

And ane of thame apon his hals A mekill bundyn weddir bare.

116 Thai met the Kyng, and halsit him thar: And the Kyng thame thar halsing yhald, And askit thame quhethir thai wald. Thai said, Robert the Bruce thai socht,

120 To meit with hym gif that thai mocht, Thair duelling with hym wald thai ma. The King said, "Gif that yhe will swa, "Haldis furth yhour way with me,

124 "And I sall ger yhow soyn him se."

Thai persavit be his spekyng And his effer, he wes the Kyng. Thai changit contenans and late, 128 And held nocht in the first stat; For thai war fayis to the Kyng;

126. In E That he wes the selvyn Robert king.

And thought to cum in-to scowkyng, And duell with hym quhill that thai saw

That tym, and bryng hym than of daw.
Thai grantit till his spek for-thi,
Bot the Kyng, that wes witty,
Persavit weill be thair havyng

136 That thai lufit hym in na thing:
He said; "Fallowis, yhe man all thre
"Forthir aquynt quhill that we be,
"All be yhour-self forrouth ga,

"And, on the sammyn wis, we twa
"Sall fallow yhow behynd weill neir."
Quod thai; 'Schir, it is na mysteir
'To trow in-till us any ill.'

"Nane do I," said he, "bot I will
"That yhe ga forrow us. quhill we
"Bettir with othir knawyn be."

'We grant,' thai said, 'sen yhe will swa:'

148 And furth apon thair gat can ga.

Thus yheid thai till the nycht wes neir.
And than the formast cumin weir
Till a wast husbandis hous; and thar

Thai slew the weddir at thai bar, And slew fyre for to rost thar met, And askit the Kyng gif he wald et, And rest hym till the met war dicht?

156 The Kyng, that hungry wes I hicht, Assentit to thair speke in hy: Bot he said, he wald anerly Betuyx hym and his fallow be

160 At a fyre, and thai all thre In the end of the hous suld ma Ane other fyre; and that did swa. That drew thame in the hous end,

And half the weddir till him send; And thai rostit in hy thair met, And fell rycht frakly for till et.

153. H And strake (S). C E as text.

The King weill lang he fastyt had, 168 And had rycht mekill travale made: Tharfor he ete richt egyrly. And quhen he etyn had hastely, He had to slepe sa mekill will,

172 That he mycht set na let thar-till.
For quhen the wanys fillit ar,
The body worthis hevy evirmar;
And to slepe drawis hevynes.

176 The Kyng, that all for-travalit wes, Saw that hym worthit slep neidwais; Till his fostir brothir he sais, "May I trast the me to walk,

180 "Till I a litill slepyng tak?"
'Yha, Schir,' he said, 'till I may dre.'
The Kyng than wynkit a litill we,
And slepit nocht full ynkurly,

184 Bot gliffnyt up oft suddandly;
For he had drede of thai thre men,
That at the tothir fyre war then.
That thai his fais war he wyst;
188 Tharfor he slepit as foul on twist.

ioo i marior no scopie do rodr on evido

#### Here he slew the three traitors.

The Kyng slepit bot litill than,
Quhen sic a slepe fell on his man
That he mycht nocht hald up his e,
Rot fell on slepe and routit he

192 Bot fell on slepe and routit he.
Now is the King in gret perell:
For slepe he swa a litill quhile,
He sall be ded, forouten dred.

That he on slep wes and his man.
In full gret hy thai rais up than,
And drew thair swerdis hastely,

200 And went toward the King in hy, Quhen that thai saw he slepit swa, And slepand thought thai wald hym sla. \*Till hym thai yheid a full gret pas,

\*204 Bot in that tym, throu Goddis grace, The Kyng blenkit up hastely,

204 And saw his man slepand him by,
And saw cumand the tratouris thre.
Delyverly on fut gat he,
And drew his spend out and thame m

And drew his suerd out and thame met,

208 And, as he yheid, his fut he set Apon his man weill hevaly. He walkynt, and rais all desaly: For the sleip maisterit hym swa,

That, or he gat up, ane of thai,
That com for to sla the Kyng,
Gaf hym a strake in his rysyng,
Swa that he mycht help hym no mair.

216 The Kyng so stratly stad wes thair, That he wes never yheit swa stad; Na war the armyng that he had, He had beyn ded foroutyn weyr.

220 Bot nocht-for-thi on sic maneir
He helpit hym swa in that bargane,
That thai thre tratouris he has slane,
Throu Goddis grace and his manheid.

His fostir-brothir thair wes ded.
Than wes he wounder will of wayn,
Quhen he saw he wes left allane.
His fostir-brothir menyt he,

228 And waryit all the tothir thre, And syne his way tuk hym allane, And richt toward his trist is gane.

# Here the King goes to his Tryst.

THE Kyng went furth wrath and angry,
Menand his man full tendirly,
And held his way all hym allane,
And richt toward the hous is gane,

\* 203, 204. Not in E, but in C and H (S). 210. E omits all.

Quhar he set trist to mete his men; 236 It wes weill lat of nycht be then. He come soyn in the hous, and fand The gud wif on the bynk sytand Scho askit hym soyn quhat he wes,

240 And quhyne he com, and quhar he gais.
"A travalland man, dame," said he,
"That travalys heir throu the cuntre."
Scho said, 'All that travaland ere,

'For saik of ane, ar welcom here.'
The Kyng said, "Gud dame, quhat is he
"That garris yhow have sik specialte
"Till men that travalis?" 'Schir, perfay,'

248 Quod the gud wif, 'I sal yhow say; 'Gud Kyng Robert the Bruce is he, 'That is rycht lord of this cuntre.

'Us favir him haldis now in throng

'His fayis him haldis now in thrang; 252 'Bot I thynk to se or oucht lang

'Hym lord and kyng our all the land,
'That na fayis sall hym withstand.'
"Dame, lufis thou hym sa weill?" said he.

256 'Yha Schyr,' scho said, 'sa God me se!'
"Dame," said he, "lo! hym her the by,
"For I am he";—"Sa yhe suthly?"

"Yha, certis, dame."—'And quhar are gane 260 Yhour men, quhen yhe ar thus allane?"

"At this tyme, dame, I have no ma."
Scho said, 'It may no wis be swa;
'I have twa sonnys wicht and hardy,

As scho devisit that have done, His sworn men becom that sone. The wif gart soyn him syt and et.

268 Bot he had schort quhil at the met Sittyn, quhen he herd gret stampyng About the hous; than, but lettyng, Thai stert up, the hous to defend;

272 Bot soyn eftir the Kyng has kend

James of Douglas: than wes he blith, And bad oppyn the dures swith: And thai com in, all at thai ware.

276 Schir Edward the Bruce wes thare, And James als of Douglas, That wes eschapit fra the chas, And with the Kyngis brothir met.

280 Syne to the trist that thame wes set Thai sped thame with thair cumpany, That war ane hundreth and fyfty.

## Here meets he with his Company.

And quhen at thai has seyn the Kyng, 284 Thai war joyfull of thair metyng: And askit how he eschapit was, And he thaim tald all haill the cas:

How the five men him presit fast,

288 And how he throu the wattir past, And how he met the thevis thre, And how he slepand slayn suld be, Quhen he walknyt, throu Goddis grace;

292 And how his fostyr-brothir was Slayne, he tald thame halely. Than lovyt thai God all comonly, That thair lord wes eschapit swa.

296 Than spak thai wordis to and fra, Till at the last the Kyng can say; "Fortoun has travalit us this day, "That scalit us sa suddandly.

300 "Our fayis this nycht sall trastly ly;"

\*301 For thai trow we so scalit ar

\*And fled to-waverand her and thar,

\*That we sall nocht thir dayis thre \*304 All to-giddir assemblit be

\*Tharfor this nycht thai sall trastly.

"But wachis, tak thair eis and ly.

"Quharfor, quha knew thair herbery, "And wald cum on thame suddanly,

<sup>\* 301-305</sup> not in E, running on from the second trastly.

- 304 "With few menyhe mycht soyn thame scath, "And yhet eschape withouten vath."
  - 'Perfay,' quoth James of Douglas,
  - 'As I com hiddirward, per-cas
- 308 'I com so neir thair herbery,
  - 'That I can bring yhow quhar thai ly.
    'And wald yhe speid yhow, yheit or day
  - 'It may sa happyn that yhe may
- 312 'Do thame a gretar scath weill soyn 'Than thai us all the day has done,
  - 'For thai ly scalit as thame lest.'
    Than thocht thai all it wes the best
- 316 To speid thame to thaim hastely; And thai did swa in full gret hy, And com on thame in the dawyng, Richt as the day begouth to spryng.

# Here the King and his Company come hastily upon their Enemies, and slay Many.

- So fell it that a cumpany
   Had in toune tane thair herbry,
   Weill fra the host a myle or mair;
   Men said that thai twa thousand war.
- 324 Thar assemblit the nobill Kyng. And soyn eftir thair assemblyng, Thai, that slepand assalyheit war, Rycht hyduisly can cry and rar;
- 328 And other-sum, that herd the cry, Ran furth rycht swa effraytly, That sum of thame all nakyt war, Fleand to-waverand heir and thair;
- 332 And sum thair armys with thaim drew:
  And thai without mercy thame slew;
  And swa cruell vengeans can ta,
  That the twa part of thame and ma,
- 336 War slayn rycht in that ilk sted; Till thar host the remanand fled.

323. E hundir.

331. E to warrand.

The host, that herd the noyis and cry, And saw thair men sa wrechidly

340 Cum nakit, fleand heir and thair, Sum haill, and sum woundit sair, In-to full gret affray thai rais, And ilk man to his baner gais:

344 Swa that the host wes all on steir.

The Kyng and thai that with hym weir,

Quhen thai on steir the host saw swa,

Toward thair warrand can thai ga,

348 And tharin swith cummyn ar thai. And quhen Schir Amery herd say How that the Kyng thar men had slayn, And how thai turnit war agane,

352 He said, "Now may we cleirly se "That nobill hert, quhar-evir it be, "Is hard till ourcum throu mastry.

"For quhar a hert is rycht worthy 356 "Agane stoutnes it is ay stout;

"And, as I trow, thair may na dowt "Ger it all out discumfit be,

"Quhill body liffand is and fre;

360 "As be this melle may be seyn.
"We wend Robert the Bruce had beyn

"Swa discumfit that, be gud skill, "He suld nouthir haff hert no will

364 "Swilk juperdy till undirta;
"For he wes put at undir swa

"That he wes left all hym allane,

"And all his folk war fra hym gane;

368 "And he wes sa fortravalit,

"To put of thame that hym assalit, "That he suld haf yharnit restyng

" Mair than fechtyng or travalyng.

372 "Bot his hert fillit is of bownte, "Swa that it vencust may nocht be."

359. C has all fre (S).
371. E This nycht atcur all other thing. H as in C.

## Here Sir Aymer passes to Carlisle.

ON this wis spak Schir Amery.
And quhen thai of his cumpany
376 Saw how thai travalit had in vane,
And how the Kyng thar men had slane,
That at his larges wes all free,
Thame thoucht it wes a nyste

380 For to mak thair langer duellyng, Sen thai mycht nocht anoy the Kyng; And said that to Schir Amery, That umbethoucht hym hastely

384 That he to Carleill than wald ga, And a quhill thar-in sojorn ma; And haf his spyis on the Kyng, To knaw alwais his contenyng.

388 For quhen that he his poynt mycht se, He thought that with a gret menyhe He suld schute on hym sodanly. Tharfor, with all his cumpany,

392 Till Ingland he the way has tane, And ilk man till his hous is gane. In hy till Carleill went is he. And thar-in thynkis for to be

396 Till he his poynt saw of the Kyng, That than with all his gaderyng Wes in Carrik, quhar umbestount He wald went with his men till hount.

# Here the King meets three Traitors.

400 Swa hapnyt it that on a day
He went till hunt, for till assay
Quhat gammyn wes in that cuntre.
And swa hapynt that day that he

404 By a wode-syde to sett is gane,
With his twa hundis, hym allane;
Bot he his swerd ay with hym bare.
He had bot schort quhill syttyn thare,

378. E And that his wes gane al fre.

408 Quhen he saw fra the wode cumand Thre men with bowis in thar hand, That toward hym com spedely; And he persavit that in hy,

412 Be thair effeir and thair havyng,
That thai lufit hym na kyn thyng.
He rais and his leysche till him drew he,
And leit his houndis gang all fre.

416 God help the Kyng now for his mycht!
For bot he now be wis and wicht,
He sall be set in mekill pres.
For that thre men, withouten les,

420 War his fayis all utrely:
And had wachit so besaly,
To se quhen thai vengeans mycht tak
Of the Kyng for Jhone Cumynys sak,

424 That thai thoucht than thai laser had; And, sen he hym allane wes stad, In hy thai thoucht thai suld him sla: And gif that thai mycht chevis swa,

428 Fra that thai the Kyng had slayn,
That thai mycht wyn the wode agayn,
His men, thai thoucht, thai suld nocht dreid.
In hy towart the Kyng thai yheid,

432 And bend thair bowis quhen thai war neir; And he, that dred in gret maneir Thar arowis, for he nakit was, In hy ane spekyng to thame mais,

436 And said; "Yhe aucht to shame, perde, "Syn I am ane and yhe ar thre,

"For to schut at me on fer.

"Bot haf yhe hardyment, cum ner

"With yhour swerdis me till assay;"Wyn me on sic wis gif yhe may;"Yhe sall weill mair all prisit be."

'Perfay,' quod ane than of the thre,

'Sall no man say we drede the swa,
'That we with arrowis sall the sla.'

With that thair bowis away thai kest, And com on fast, but langar frest.

- 448 The Kyng thame met full hardely, And smat the first so rigorusly, That he fell ded doun on the greyn. And quhen the Kyngis hounde has seyn
- 452 Thai men assale his mastir swa,
  He lap till ane and can hym ta
  Richt be the nek full felonly,
  Till top our taill he gert hym ly.

456 And the Kyng, that his swerd up had, Saw he so fair succour hym maid, Or he that fallyn wes mycht rys, He hym assalyheit on sic wis,

460 That he the bak strak evyn in twa.
The thrid, that saw his fallowis swa
Forouten recoveryng, be slayne,
Tuk till the wod his way agane.

464 Bot the Kyng followit spedely;
And als the hound that wes hym by,
Quhen he the man saw gang hym fra,
Schot till hym soyn, and can him ta

- 468 Richt be the nek, and till hym dreuch; And the Kyng, that wes neir eneuch, In his risyng sik rowt hym gaf, That stane-ded till the erd he draf.
- 472 The Kyngis menyhe that war neir, Quhen at thai saw on sic maneir The Kyng assalit sa suddandly, Thai sped thame toward hym in hy,
- And he all haly can thaim tell,

  How thai assalyheit hym all thre.

  "Perfox" and thei "we may weill se

"Perfay," quod thai, "we may weill se

- 480 "That it is hard till undirtak
  - "Sic mellyng with yhow for to mak, That so smertly has slayn thir thre
  - "Forouten hurt." 'Perfay,' said he,
- 484 'I slew bot ane forouten ma,

459. C Had hym.

484. Not in E, which has after 485 The thrid eschapyt nocht alsua. H as in C.

'God and my hund has slane the twa;

'Thair tresoune cumrit thame, perfay,

'For richt wicht men all thre war thai.'

# Here Sir Aymer sets the King in Great Jeopardy.

Qwhen that the Kyng, throu Goddis grace On this maner eschapit was, He blew his horne, and than in hy His gud men till hym can rely;

492 Than hamwardis buskit he to fair, For that day wald he hunt no mair. In Glentruell a quhile he lay, And went weill oft to hunt and play,

For to purchase thame venysoun,
For than the deir war in sesoun.
In all that tyme Schir Amery,
With nobill men in cumpany,

500 In Carleill lay, his poynt to se;
And quhen he herd the certante
That in Glentruell wes the King,
And went to hunt and to playing,

504 He thought than with his chevelry, To cum apon hym suddanly; Fra Carleill all on nychtis ryde, And in covert on dayis byde.

508 And swagat, with sic tranonting, He thought he suld suppris the Kyng. Than he assemblit a gret menyhe Of folk of full gret renowne.

512 Bath of Scottis and Inglis men.
Thair way all sammyn held thai then,
And raid on nychtis so prevaly,
Till thai com to the wode neir by

516 Glentruell, quhar lugit wes the Kyng,
That wist richt nocht of thair cummyng.
In-to gret perell now is he,
For, bot God throu his gret powste,

494. C has all a quhile (S), where all seems a duplication of the preceding syllable.

520 Saif hym, he sall be tane or slane; For thai war sex quhar he wes ane.

### How Sir Aymer Valence sent the Woman to spy King Robert in Glentrool.

Owhen Schir Amer, as I herd tald, With his men that wes stout and bald,

524 Wes cum so neir the Kyng that thai War bot a myle fra hym away, He tuk avisment with his men, On quhat maner that suld do then.

528 For he said thame, that the King wes Lugit in-to so strate a place, That hors-men mycht hym nocht assale; And gif fut-men gaf hym battale,

532 He suld be hard to wyn, gif he Of thair cummyng ma warnit be: "Tharfor I rede, all prevaly "We send a woman hym to spy,

536 "That pouerly arayit be. "Scho may ask met per cherite,

"And se thair covyne halely, " And on quhat maner at thai ly,

540 "The quhilis we and our menyhe, "Cumand throu-out the wod may be "On fut, all arayit as we ar.

" May we do swa, that we cum thar

544 "On thaim or thai wit our cummyng "We sall fynd in thame no styntyng."

> This consall thought thaim wes the best, Than send thai furth, but langar frest,

548 The woman that suld be than spy, And scho hir way can hald in hy Richt to the logis, quhar the King, That had no dreid of supprising,

552 Yheid unarmyt, mery and blith. The woman has he seyn alswith, He saw hir uncouth, and for-thi He beheld hir mayr ynkirly,

556 And by hir countenans hym thoucht
That for gud cummyn wes scho nocht.
Than gert he men in hy hir ta;
And scho, that dred men suld hir sla,

560 Tald thame how that Schir Amery,
With the Cliffurd in cumpany,
And the flour of Northumbirland,
War cummand on thame at thar hand.

564 Quhen at the King herd that tithing, He armyt hym but mair duelling; Sa did thai all that evir thar war, Syne in a sop assemblit ar:

568 I trow they war thre hundreth ner. And quhen thai all assemblit wer, The King his baner gert display, And set his men in gude aray.

572 Thai had nocht standyn bot a thraw, Richt at thair hand quhen at thai saw Thair fayis throu the wod cumand, Armyt on fut, with sper in hand,

576 That sped thame full enforsaly.

The noyis begouth soyne and the cry;

For the gud King, that formast was,

Stoutly towart his fayis gais,

580 And hint out of a manis hand,
That neir besyde him wes gangand,
A bow and a braid arrow als,
And hyt the formast in the hals,

584 Till throppill and wassand yheid in twa, And he doune to the erd can ga.

# Here were Fifteen Hundred discomfited with Few Scots.

The laiff with that maid a stopping; Than, but mair baid, the nobill King 588 Hynt fra his baneour the banar, And said, "Apon thame! for thai ar

556. C has And by (S).

"Discomfit all!" and with that word He swappit swiftly out his sword,

592 And on thame ran so hardely,
That all thai of his cumpany
Tuk hardyment of his gud dede.
For sum, that first thar wayis yhede,

596 Again com to the ficht in hy, And met thair fayis so rigorusly,

And met thair fayis so rigorusly,
That all the formast ruschit war.
And quhen thai that war head that

600 Saw that the formast left the stede, Thai turnit soyn the bak and fled, And of the wod thai thaim with-drew. The King a few men of thame slew,

604 For thai rycht soyn thair gat can ga; It discomfortyt thame all swa, That the King with his menyhe was All armyt to defend that plas,

608 That that wend throu that tranonting Till have wonnyn for-out fichting, That that effrayit war suddanly.

And he thame soucht so angyrly,

612 That that in full gret hy agane Out of the woud ran to the plane. For that fallyheit of thair entent, That war that tym sa fowly schent,

616 That fiften hundreth men and ma
Wyth fewar war rebutit swa,
That thai with-drew thaim schamfully.
Tharfor emang thame sudanly

620 Thair rais debate and gret distans Ilkane with othir of thar myschans; Clyffurd and Vaus maid a melle, Quhar Cliffurd raucht him a cole;

624 And athir syne drew to partis. Bot Schir Amer, that wes wis,

605. C discumfit (S), which is metrically short, and does not suit the context or the sense.

623. E roucht nocht him to lee. H raught him routes three, which so far supports the reading of the text.

Departit thame with mekill pane, And went till Ingland hame agane.

628 He wist, fra stryff rais thame amang, He suld thame nocht hald sammyn lang For-outen debat or melle; Tharfor till Ingland turnit he

632 With mar schaym than he com of toune; Quhen sa mony of sic renoun Saw sa few men bid thaim battale, Quhar thai ne war hardy to assale.

### BOOK VIII

How James of Douglas discomfited then At Ederford Philip Mowbray with many men.

The King, fra Schir Amer wes gane, Gadert his menyhe evirilkane; And left bath woddis and montanis,

4 And held his way straucht to the planys. For he wald fayn that end war maid Of that at he begonnyn had, And he wist weill he mycht nocht bring

8 It to gud end but travalyng.

To Kyle first went he, and that land He maid till him all obeysand:

The men mast fors com till his pes.

12 Syne eftirward, or he wald ces, Of Cunyngame the mast party He gert helde till his senyhory.

In Bothwell than Schir Amer was,
16 That in his hert gret angyr has;
For thai of Cunyngame and Kyle,
That war obeysand till hym quhile,
Left the Inglis menis fewte:
20 Tharof fayn vengit wald he be;
And send Schir Philip the Mowbray,
With a thousand, as I herd say,

Of men that war in his leding, 24 To Kyle to warray the nobill Kyng.

Bot James of Douglas, that all tyde, Had spyis out on ilka syde, Wist of thar cummyng, and that thai 28 Wald hald doune Makyrnokis way. He tuk with hym all prevely Thame that war of his cumpany,

32 Syne till a strate place can he ga, That is in Makyrnokis way, The Edry-furd it hat perfay; It lyis betuix marras twa,

That war sexty withouten ma.

36 Quhar that na hors on lif ma ga. On the south half, quhar James was, Is ane upgang, ane narrow plas, And on the north half is the way

40 Sa ill, as it apperis to day.

Douglas, with thame he with hym had, Enbuschit hym, and thame abaid. He mycht weill fer se thair cummyng,

- 44 Bot thai mycht se of hym na thing.
  Thai maid enbuschement all the nycht,
  And quhen the sone wes schynand brycht,
  Thai saw in battale cum arayit
- 48 The vaward with baner displayit, And syne soyn the remanand Thai saw weill neir behynd cumand. Than held thai thaim still and preve,
- 52 Till the formast of thair menyhe
  War enterit in the furde thame by;
  Than schot thai on thame wyth a cry;
  And with wapnys that scharply schare
- 56 Sum in the furde thai bakward bare, And sum, with arrowes barblyt braid, Sa gret martirdome on thame maid,

28. C Machyrn-noxis.
31. E fourty. H sixtie.
34. E Nether-foord, and so in H, differing from his own rubric.

That thai gan draw to voyd the place;
60 Bot behinde thame so stoppit was
The way, that thai fast mycht nocht fle,
And that gert of thaim mony de.

For thai on na syde mycht away

64 Bot as thai com, bot gif at thai Wald throu thair fayis hald thar gat; Bot that way thought thame all to hat. Thair fayis met thame so sturdely,

68 And continit the ficht so hardely,
That thai so dredand war at thai
Quha first mycht fle, first fled away.
And quhen the reirward saw thaim swa

72 Discumfit, and thair wayis ga, Thai fled on fer, and held thair way. Bot Schir Philip the Mowbray, That with the formast rydand was,

76 That enterit war in-to the plas, Quhen that he saw how he wes stad, Throu the gret worschip that he had, With spurys he strak the steid of pris,

80 And, magre all his enymys,
Throu the thikkest of thame he raid,
And but challans eschapit had,
Ne war ane hynt hym by the brand;

84 Bot the guid steid, that wald nocht stand, He lansit furth deliverly; Bot the tothir sa stalwardly

Held, that the belt brist of the brand, 88 That swerd and belt left in his hand.

And he but swerd his wayis raid, Weill otow thame, and thair abaid, Behaldand how his menyhe fled,

92 And how his fais clengit the sted That war betuix him and his men; Tharfor the wayis tuk he then To Kylmernok and Killwynnyn,

96 And till Ardrossan eftir syne.

59. From E (S). Thoucht throu the wode to pass (C). 75. C wes (S).

Syne throu the Largys, him allane, Till Ennirkyp the way has tane, Richt till the castell that wes then

That him resavit in gret dante.

And fra thai wist how-gat that he
Sa fer had ryddyn, hym allane,

Throu thame that war his fais ilkane, Thai prisit him so gretumly, And alsua lovit his chevelry.

SCHIR Philip thus eschapit was, And Douglas, that wes in the plas, Quhar he sexty has slane and ma; The laiff fouly thar gat can ga, And fled to Bothwell hame agane;

112 Ouhen Schir Amer wes na thing fane, Ouhen he herd tell on quhat maner That his menyhe discumfit wer. Bot quhen to King Robert wes tald,

116 How the gud Douglas, that wes bald, Vencust sa feyll with few menyhe, Richt joyfull in his hert wes he. And all his men confortit war:

120 For thame thought weill, bath les and mair That thai suld les thar fayis drede, Sen thair purpos sa wyth thaim yheide.

# Here Sir Aymer urges a Fight on the Plain.

The Kyng lay in-to Gawlistoun,
124 That is rycht evyn anent Lowdoun;
And till his pes tuk the cuntre.
Quhen Schir Amer and his menyhe,
Herd how he rewlit all the land,
128 And how that nane durst him withstand,

He wes in-till his hert angry;
And with ane of his cumpany
He send him word ande said, gif he
132 Durst hym in-to the planys se,

He suld the tend day of May Cum undir Lowdoun hill away: And gif that he wald met him thair,

136 He said, his worschip sulde be mair, And mair be turnit to nobillay, To wyn him in the playn away, With hard dyntis in evyn fichting,

Than till do fer mair in scowking.
The King, that herd his messinger,
Had despit apon gret maner,
That Schir Amer spak sa hely,

144 Tharfor he ansuerd irusly, And till the messynger said he; "Sa to thi lord that, gif I be

"In lif, he sall me se that day

"Weill neir, gif he dar hald the way "That he has said; for sekirly

"By Lowdoun hill mete hym sall I."

# Here King Robert provides for Advantage in the Place where they should Fight.

The messinger, but mair abade,
152 Till his mastir his wais raide,
And his ansuer him tald alswith;
Than wes na neid to mak him blithe.
For he thought, throu his mekill mycht,

156 Gif the King durst apeir to ficht, That, throu the gret chevelry That suld be in his cumpany, He suld swa ourcum the Kyng,

160 That thar suld be na recoveryng.

And the Kyng, on the tothir party,
That wes ay wis and a-verty,
Raid for to se and ches the plas,

164 And saw the hye-gat lyand was Apon a fair feild, evin and dry; Bot apon athir syde thar-by

144. C has ernystfully (S). H angerly, agrees with E. 154. E Quharof he was bath glaid and blyth. H agrees with C.

Wes a gret mos, mekill and braid,
168 That fra the way wes, quhar men raid,
A bowdraucht neir on athir syde:
And that place thocht hym all to wyde
Till abyde men that horsit war.

172 Tharfor thre dykis ourthwort he schar, Fra bath the mosis to the way:

That war sa fer fra othir, that thai

War in-twyn a bow-draucht and mar.

176 Sa holl and hye the dykis war, That men mycht nocht, but mekill pane, Pas thaim, thouch nane war thaim agane. Bot sloppis in the way left he,

180 So large, and of sic quantite, That fyffe hundir mycht sammyn ryde In at the sloppis, syde for syde. Thar thoucht he battale for to beid,

184 And bargane thaim; for he na drede Had at thai suld on syde assale, Na yheit behynd gif him battale. And befor hym thocht weill that he

188 Suld fra thar mycht defendit be.
Thre deip dykis he gert thar ma;
For gif he mycht nocht weill our-ta
To met thame at the first, that he

192 Suld haf the tothir at his pouste; Or than the thrid, gif it war swa At thai had passit the tothir twa. On this wis him ordanit he.

196 And syne assemblit his menyhe, That war sex hundreth fechtand men, But rangald, that wes with him then, That war als feill as thai, or ma.

200 With all that menyhe can he ga, The evyn befor the battale suld be, To litill Lowdoun, quhar that he Wald abide to se thair cummyng;

204 Syne with the men of his leding
He thought to speid hym, swa that he
Suld at the dik befor thaim be.

# Here Sir Aymer comes with his Host in Sight.

Schir Amer, on the tothir party,

208 Gaderit so great chevelry,

That he mycht be thre thousand neir,

Armyt and dicht in gud maner;

And than, as man of gret noblay, 212 He held toward the trist his way.

And quhen the set day cumin was, He sped him fast toward the place That he had nemmyt for to ficht.

216 The sone wes rysyn schynand bricht,
That blenknyt on the scheldis braid.
In twa eschelis ordanit he had
The folk that he had in leding.

Saw first cumand thair first eschele,
Arrait sarraly and weill,
And at their bale sum doill neighard

And at thair bak, sum-deill neirhand,

224 He saw the tothir followand:
Thair basnetis burnyst war all brycht,
Agane the sone glemand of licht;

Thair speris, thair pennownys, and thar scheldis

228 Of licht illumynit all the feldis.

Thair best and browdyn bricht baneris,
And hors hewit on seir maneris,
And cot-armouris off seir colour,

232 And hawbrekis, that war quhit as flour, Maid thame glitterand, as thai war lik Till angellis he of hevinis rik.

# Here King Robert meets him with Few.

The King said; "Lordingis, now yhe se

"How yhon men, throu thar gret pouste,
"Wald, and thai mycht fulfill thar will,
"Slay us, and mak sembland thar-till.
"And sen we knaw thair felony,

240 "Ga we and meit thame hardely,

"That the stoutest of thair menyhe,

"Of our metyng abaysit be.

" For gif the formast egirly

244 "Be met, yhe sall se suddanly

"The henmast sall abasit be;

"And thouch that thai be ma than we,

"That suld abais us litill thing;

"Year may met us no ma than we.

"Tharfor, lordingis, ilkane suld be "Of worschip and of gret valour,

252 "For till maynteme heir our honour.

"Thinkis quhat gladschip us abydis,
"Gif that we may, as us betydis,

"Haf victour of our fayis heir!

256 "For thar is nane her, fer no neir, "In all this land that us thar dout." Than said thai all that stude about,

Than said that all that stude about, 'Schir, gif God will, we sall sa do, 260 'That no repruf sall ly thar-to.'

"Than ga we furth now," said the King,
"And he, that maid of nocht all thing,
"Leyd us, and sauf us for his mycht,

264 "And help us for till hald our richt!"
With that thai held thar way in hy,
Weill sex hundreth in cumpany,
Stalward and stout, worthy and wicht:

268 Bot thai war all to few, I hicht, Agane so feill to stand in stour, Ne war thair outrageous valour.

NOW gais the nobill Kyng his way,
Richt stoutly and in gude aray,
And to the formast dyk is gane,
And in the slop the feld has tane.
The cariage-men and the pouerale,
That wes nocht worth in the batale,
Behynd him levit he al still,
Standand all sammyn on the hill.
Schir Amery the King has seyn,
With his men that war cant and keyn,

Cum to the playn doune fra the hill, As him thought in-to full gud will For to defend or till assaill,

284 Gif ony wald hym byde battale.

Tharfor his men confortit he,
And bad thame wicht and worthy be;
For gif at thai mycht wyn the Kyng,

288 And victor haf of the fechting, Thai suld richt weill rewardit be, And gretly ek thair renownee.

With that thai war weill neir the Kyng,

292 And he left his amonystyng,
And gert trumpe to the assemble;
And the formast of his menyhe
Enbrasit with that thar scheldis braid,

296 And rycht sarray to-gidder raid,
With hedis stowpand and speris straucht
Richt to the Kyng thar way thai raucht;
That met thame with sa gret vigour,

300 That the best and of mast valour War laid at erd at thair metyng;
Quhar men mycht her sic a brekyng
Of speris that to-fruschyt war,

304 And the woundit so cry and rar,
That it anoyus wes till her.
For thai, that first assemblit wer,
Funyheit and fawcht full sturdely;

308 The novis begouth than and the cry.

# Here King Robert wins in Plain Battle.

A! mychty God! quha thair had beyn,
And had the Kyngis worschip seyn,
And his brothir that wes hym by,
312 That contenit thame so hardely,
That thair gud deid and thar bounte,
Gaiff gret confort to thair menyhe;
And how Dowglas so manfully
316 Confortit thame that war hym by;

He suld weill say that thai had will To wyn honor and cum thair-till. The Kingis men, that worthy war,

320 With thair speris that scharply schar, Stekit men and stedis bath, Till red blud ran of woundis rath. The hors that woundyt war can fling,

324 And ruschit the folk in thair flynging, Swa that thai that than formast war War skalyt in soppis heir and thar. The King that saw thame ruschit swa,

328 And saw thame reland to and fra, Ran apon thaim so egirly, And dang on thame sa hardely, He gert feill of his fayis fall.

332 The feld wes weill neir coverit all
Bath with slayn hors and with men;
For the gud King thame followit then,
With weill fif hundreth that wapnys bar,

336 That wald thair fayis no thing spar.

Thai dang on thame so hardely,

That in schort tyme men mycht se ly

At erd ane hundreth and wele mar;

340 The remanand the waykar war, Than thai begouth thame to withdraw; And quhen thai of the reirward saw Thair vawarde be sa discomfit,

344 Thai flede withouten mair respit.
And quhen Schir Amer hes seyn
His men fleand haly bedeyn,
Wit yhe weill he wes full way;

348 Bot he mycht nocht amonist swa That ony for him wald turne agane. And quhen he saw he tynt his pane, He turnit his bridill, and to-ga:

352 For the gud King thame presit swa
That sum war dede, and sum war tane;
The remanand thar gat ar gane.

326. C stekit (S) for skalyt.

339. C weill and (S).

## Here Sir Aymer passes to England.

THE folk fled apon this maner For-outen arest, and Schir Amer Agane to Bothwell is he gane, Menand the scath that he had tane; Sa schamfull that he vencust wes,

360 That till Inglande in hy he gais Richt till the King, and schamfully He gaf up that his wardanry. Na never syne, for na kyne thing,

364 Bot gif he com richt with the King, Com he to warra Scotland. Sa hevely he tuk on hand, That the King, in set battalyhe,

368 With a quheyn lik poueralyhe, Vencust him with a gret menyhe, That wes renownit of gret bounte. Sic anoy had Schir Amery:

372 And King Robert, that wes hardy, Abaid all still in-to the plas, Till that his men left all the chas; Syne with presoners that thai had tane,

376 Thai ar towart thair innys gane, Fast lovand God of thair weillfair. Men mycht haf seyn, quha had beyn thair, A folk that mery war and glad

380 For thair victour; and als thai haid A lord so swet and deboner, So curtas, and of sa fair effer, So blith als, and so weill bowrdand,

384 And in battale so stith to stand, So wis, and right sua avise, That that had gret caus blith to be. So war thai blith forouten dout;

388 For feill, that wonnyt thaim about, Fra thai the King saw help him swa, Till him thar homage can thai ma.

375. C he had (S).

381. C debonar (S).

Than wox his power mair and mair, 392 And he thought weill that he wald fair Outour the Month with his menyhe, To luk quha that his frend wald be. In-to Schir Alexandir the Freser

306 He trastit, for thai cosyngis wer, And his brothir Symon, thai twa. He had myster weill of ma, For he hade fais mony ane;

400 Schir Johne Cumyne Erll of Bouchane, And Schir Johne the Mowbray syne, And gud Schir David of Brechyne, With all the folk in thair leding,

404 War fayis to the nobill King. And, for he wist that war his fayis, His viage northwardis he tais; For he wald se quhat-kyn ending

408 Thai walde mak of thair manasing.

### How the Good King Robert the Bruce passed North beyond the Mounth.

THE king buskit and maid him yhar, Northwardis with his men to fair. His brothir can he with hym ta,

112 And Schir Gilbert de le Hay alsua; The Erll of Lennax als wes thar, That with the King was our all quhar; Schir Robert Boyd and othir ma.

416 The King can furth his wais ta, And left James of Douglas, With all the folk that with him was, Behynd hym, for till luk gif he

420 Micht recover his cuntre. He left him in-to gret perill; Bot eftir, in ane litill quaill, Throu his gret worschip sa he wrocht,

424 That to the Kingis pes he brocht The forest of Selcryk all hale, And alsua did he Douglasdale,

And Gedword forest alsua.

428 And quha sa weill on hand couth ta To tell his worschippis ane and ane, He suld fynd of thaim mony ane. For in his tym, as men said me,

432 Threttene tymes vencust wes he, And victory wan sevin and fifty. He semyt nocht lang ydill to ly, Be his travale he had na will;

436 Me think men suld him luf of skill.

# Here Sir James wins Many Men, and makes First a Train on the Castle.

This James, quhen the King wes gane, All prevely his men has tane, And went to Douglasdaill agane,

440 And maid all prevely a trane
Till thaim that in the castell war.
A buschement slely maid he thair;
And of his men fourteyn and ma

444 He gert, as thai war, sekkis ta Fillit with gyrs, and syne thame lay Apon thair hors, and hald thair way Richt as thai wald to Lanrik fair,

448 Oth w quhar the enbuschement war. And quhen that of the castell saw So feill ladis gang on raw, Of that sight war that wonder fayn,

452 And tald it to thair capitane,
That hicht Schir Johne off Webitoune.
He wes bath yhoung, stout, and felloun,
Richt joly als, and volageous;

456 And for that he was amourous,
He wald ysche fer the blithlyer.
He gert his men all tak thar ger,
And yschit to get that vittale,

460 For thar vittale all fast couth fale.

427. E Jedworthis.

Thai yschit all abaundanly, And prikit furth sa wilfully To win the ladis at thai saw pas,

464 Quhill that Douglas with his men was All betuix thame and the castell. The layd-men that persavit weill Thai kest thair ladis doun in hy,

468 And thair gownys deliverly, That helit thame, that kest away, And in gret hy thair hors hint thai, And stert upon thame sturdely,

472 And met thair fayis with a cry; That had gret woundir, quhen thai saw Thaim that war ere lurkand full law, Cum apon thame so hardely,

476 Thai wox abasyd suddandly, And at the castell wald haf beyn. Quhen thai, on the othir haf, has seyn Douglas brek his enbuschement,

480 That agane thame rycht stoutly went, Thai wist nocht quhat till do no say. Thar fayis at thair hand saw thai, That strak on thame forout sparing,

484 And that mycht help thatm-self no thing, Bot fled to warrand quhar thai mocht; And that so angirly on thame socht, That of thame all eschapit nane.

488 Schir Ihone of Webitoun thar wes slaine; And quhen he ded wes, as yhe her, Thai fand in-till his awmener A letter, that him send ane lady

492 That he lufit per drowry;

\*493 The letter spak on this maner That said, quhen he had yhemyt a yher In wer, as ane gud bachiller,

\*495 And governit weill, in all maner,

482. E has on other sid.

491. E his coffer.

493, \*495. From C (S); not in E or H. The first is probably misplaced to begin with, and the second inserted to complete the couplet (see note).

The aventurus castell off Douglas,
496 That to kepe so perelous was,
Than mycht he weill ask ane lady
Hir amouris and hir drowry.

The letter spak on this maner.
500 And quhen thai slayn on this wis wer,
Douglas right to the castell raid,
And thair so gret debate he maid,
That in the castell enterit he.

504 I wat nocht all the certante,
Quhethir it wes throu strinth or slicht,
Bot he wrocht swa, throu his gret mycht,
That the constabill and all the lafe

508 That war thar-in, bath man and knaf, He tuk, and gaf thame dispending, And send thame hame, but mair greving, Till the Cliffurde in thair cuntre.

512 Ande syne so besely wrocht he, That he all tumlit doune the wall, And distroit the hous all: Syne till the Forest held his way,

516 Quhar he had mony harde assay, And mony fair poynt of wer befell; Quha couth thame all rehers and tell, He suld say that his name suld be 520 Lestande in full gret renoune.

## BOOK IX

How Good King Robert lay Sick in Inverury.

N OW leif we in-to the Forest
Douglas, that sall haf litil rest,
Till the cuntre deliverit be
Of Inglis men and thair pouste:
And turne we to the nobill Kyng;
That, with the folk of his leding,

506. E with mekill mycht.

520. C ranowne (S). H renounie.

Toward the Month has tane the way

8 Richt stoutly, in-to gud aray;

Quhar Alysandir Freser him met,

And als his brothir, Symon het,

With all the folk thai with thaim hade.

The Kyng gud counternans thaim main

12 The Kyng gud counternans thaim maid, That wes richt blith of thair cummyng. Thai tald the King all the covyng Of Jhone Cumyne the Erll of Bouchane,

16 That till help him had with him tane Schir John Mowbra and othir ma, Schir David the Brechyne alsua, With all the folk of thair leding,

20 "And yharnis mair than ony thing "Vengeans on yhow, Schir Kyng, to tak, "For Schir John the Cumynis sak, "That quhilom in Drumfreis wes slayn."

24 The King said, 'Sa our lord me sayn,

'I had gret caus hym for to slay.
'And syn that thai on hand will ta,

'Becaus of hym, to warra me,

28 'I sall thoill all a quhile, and se 'On quhat wis that thai preif thar mycht.

'And gif it fall at thai will ficht,

'Giff thai assalyhe we mon defend; 32 'Syne fall quhatevir that God will send.'

Eftir this spek the Kyng in hy
Held straucht the way till Enverrowry:
And thair him tuk sic ane seiknes,
36 That put him till full hard distres,
That he forbare bath drink and met.
His men no medicine couth get
That evir mycht to the King availyhe.
40 His strinth so haly can him falyhe,
That he mycht nouthir ryde no ga.
Than, wit yhe weill his, men wes wa!
For nane wes in that cumpany,
44 That wald haf beyn half so sary

For till half seyn his brothir ded Lyand befor hym in that sted, As thai war all for his sekness; 48 For all thair confort in him wes.

But gud Schir Edward the worthy,
His brothir that wes so hardy,
And wis and wicht, set mekill payn
52 To confort thame with all his mayn.
And quhen the lordis that war thair
Saw that the evill ay mair and mair
Travalit the King, thai thoucht in hy

56 It war nocht speidfull thair to ly: For thair all playn wes the cuntre, And thai war bot ane few menyhe To ly, but strinth, in-to the playn.

60 For-thi, till that thair capitane War coverit of his mekill ill, Thai thoucht to wend sum strinth soyn til.

For folk for-outen capitane,

64 Bot that the bettir be a-pane,
Sall nocht be all so gud in deid,
As that ane lord had thame to leid,
That dar put him in aventure,

68 But abasing, to tak the ure That God will send: for quhen that he Is of sic will and sic bounte, That he dar put him till assay,

72 His folk sall tak ensampill ay
Of his gud deid and his bounte,
That ane of thame sall be worth thre
Of thame that wikkid chiftane has;

76 His wrechidnes so in thame gais, That thai thair manlynes sall tyne Throu wrechidnes of his covyne. For quhen the lord at thame suld leid,

80 May do nocht bot as he war ded, Or fra his folk haldis his way Fleand, trow yhe nocht than that thai

Sall vencust in thair hertis be? 84 Yhus, sall thai, as I trow, per de, Bot gif thair hertis be so hye Thai will nocht for thair worschip fle. And thouch sum be of sic bounte, 88 Quhen thai the lord and his menyhe Seis fle, yhit sall thai fle a-payn ; For all men fleis the ded richt fayn. Se quhat he dois, that swa fowly 92 Fleis thus for his cowardy! Bath him and his, vencust is he, And gerris his favis abovin be. Bot he that, throu his gret nobillay, 96 To perellis him abawndonys ay

For to reconfort his menyhe, Gerris thame be of so gret bounte, That mony tym unlikly thing

100 Thai bring richt weill to gud ending.

So did this King that I of reid, And, for his outrageous manheid, Confortit his men on sic maneir. 104 That nane had radnes quhar he wer. \*Thai wald nocht ficht quhill that he wes Liand in-till sic seiknes; Tharfor in littar that him lay, And till the Slevach held their way, 108 And thought thair in that strinth to ly, Till passit war his malady.

# Here the Earl of Buchan gathers against the King.

 $\mathrm{B}^{\mathrm{OT}}$  fra the Erll of Bouchane Wist that thai war thiddir gane, 112 And wist that swa seik wes the King That men doutit of his coveryng, He send eftir his men in hy, And assemblit gret cumpany. 116 For all his awne men war thar, And als frendis with him war;

That wes Schir Johne the Mowbray, And his brothir, as I herd say,

120 And als Schir David of Brechyne, With fele folk in thair leding. And quhan thai all assemblit war, In hy thai tuk thair way till fair

124 To the Slevach, with all thar men, For till assaill the King, that then Wes liand in-till his seiknes. This was eftir the Martymes,

128 Quhen snaw had helit all the land.
To the Slevach thai com neirhand,
Arayit on thair best maneir.
And than the Kingis men, that were

And than the Kingis men, that wer

Till defend, gif thai thame assalit. And nocht-for thi thair fayis war Ay twa for ane that thai war thair.

136 The Erlis men neir cumande war, Trumpand and makand mekill fair, And maid knychtis quhen thai war neir. And thai, that in the wodsyde weir,

140 Stude in aray richt sarraly,
And thoucht to byde thair hardely
The cummyng of thair enymys.
Bot thai wald apon nakyn wis

144 Ysche till assale thame in fichting, Till coverit war the nobill Kyng. Bot gif othir wald thame assalyhe, Thai wald defend, avalyhe que valyhe.

148 And quhen the Erlis cumpany
Saw that thai wroucht so besaly,
That thai that strinth schup to defend,
Thair archaris furth to thame thai send

152 To bykkir thame, as men of mayn. And thai send archaris thame agayn, That bykkirrit thame so sturdely, Till thai of the Erlis party

147. E vailyhe quod vailyhe.

156 In-to thair battale withdrawin war. Thre dayis on this wis lay thai thar, And bikkirrit thame evirilke day: Bot thar bowmen the wer had ay.

Saw thair fayis befor thame ly,
That ilka day wox ma and ma,

And thai war quhoyn, and stad war swa

164 That thai had no-thing for to et, Bot gif thai travalit it to get, Tharfor thai tuk consale in hy That thai wald thar no langer ly,

168 Bot hald thair way quhar thai mycht get, Till thaim and thairis vittale and met.

In a littar the Kyng thai lay,
And redyit thame and held thar way,
That all thair fayis mycht thame se;
Ilk man buskit in his degre,
To ficht gif thai assalyheit war.
In myddis thame the King thai bair,

176 And yheid about hym sarraly, And nocht full gretly can thame hy. The Erll, and thai that with him war, Saw that thai buskit thame to fair;

180 And saw how with so litill affray
Thai held furth with the King thar way,
Reddy to ficht quha walde assale,
Thair hertis all begouth to fale,

184 And in pes let thame pas thar way, And till thair hous hame went thai.

How the King discomfited at Inverury The Earl of Buchan shamefully.

THE Erll his way tuk to Bouchane;
And Schir Edward the Broys is gane
188 Richt to Strabogy, with the Kyng;
And swa lang thair maid sojornyng,
Till he begouth to cover and ga,
And syne thair wayis can thai ta

192 Till Enverrowry straucht agane; For thai wald ly in-till the plane, The wyntir sesoune; for vittale In-to the playn mycht nocht thame fale.

196 The Erll wist that thai war thar, And gaderit his menyhe heir and thar, Brechyne, Mowbra, and thair men, All to the Erll assemblit then,

200 And war a full gret cumpany
Of men arayit jolely.
Till Ald Meldrom thai held the way,
And thar with thair men lugit thai,

204 Before Yhoill-evyn ane nycht bot mair; And thousand, trow I weill, thai war. Thai lugit thame all thair that nycht; And on the morn, quhen day wes licht,

Is went towart Inverrowry,
To luk gyff he on ony wys
Mycht do skaith till his ennemys.

212 In-to the end of Enverrowry
He com ridand so suddandly,
That of the Kingis men he slew
A part, and other-sum thaim withdrew,

216 And fled thair way toward the King, That, with the mast of his gaderyng, On yhond half doun wes than lyand. And quhen men tald him the tithand,

220 How Schir David had slayn his men, His hors in hy he askit then, And bad his men all mak thame yhare In-to gret hy, for he wald fare

224 To bargane with his enymys.
With that he buskit for to ris,
That wes nocht all weill coverit then.
Then said sum of his preve men;

228 "Quhat think yhe, Schir, thusgat to fair "To ficht, and yheit nocht coverit ar?"

210, 211. C omits; in E and H.

- 'Yhis,' said the Kyng, 'forouten wer;
- 'Thair bost has maid me haill and fer.
- 232 'For suld no medicine so soyne
  'Haff coverit me, as thai haf done.
  'Tharfor, sa God him-self me se!
  - 'I sall outhir haf thaim, or thai me.'
- 236 And quhen his men has herd the King Set him so haill for the fechting, Of his covering all blith thai war, And maid thame for the battale yhar.

## Here the Earl of Buchan flies, and Sir David Brechin yields himself to the King.

- THE nobill King ande his menyhe,
  That mycht weill neir sevin hundreth be,
  Toward Ald Meldrome tuk the way,
  Quhar the Erll and his menyhe lay.
- 244 The discurrouris saw thame comande With baneris to the wynd wafand; And tald it to thar lord in hy, That gert arm his men hastely,
- 248 And thame arayit for battale.

  Behynd thame set that thar merdale,
  And maid gude sembland for the ficht.
  The King com on with mekill mycht;
- 252 And thai abaid, makand gret fair, Till thai neir at assemble war. Bot quhen thai saw the nobill King Cum stoutly on without stinting,
- 256 A litill on bridill that that with-drew; And the King, that rycht weill knew That that war all discumfit neir, Pressit on thame with his baneir;
- 260 And thai with-drew thaim mair and mair. And quhen the small folk thai had thar, Saw thair lordis with-draw thame swa, Thai turnit thar bak all, and to-ga;

<sup>257.</sup> E gives rycht (S). C has thame.

264 And fled all scalit heir and thair. The lordis, that yheit to-giddir war, Saw that thair small folk war fleand. And saw the Kyng stoutly cumand,

268 Thai war ilkane abasit swa, That that the bakkis gaf, and to-ga. A litill stound sammyn held thai, And syne ilk man has tane his way.

Fell nevir men so foull myschans Eftir so sturdy cuntyrnans. For quhen the Kyngis cumpany Saw at thai fled so fowlely,

276 Thai chasyt thame with all thar mayn, And sum thai tuk, and sum war slavn. The remanand war fleand ay: Quha had gud hors gat best away!

280 Till Ingland fled the Erll of Bouchane, Schir Johne Mowbray is with him gane, And war resettit with the King. Bot that had bath bot schort lesting,

284 For thai deit soyn eftir syne. And Schir David of Brechyne Fled to Brechine, his awn castele, And warnyst it bath fair and wele.

288 Bot the Erll of Adell Davy, His sone that wes in Kyldromy, Com syne, and him assegit thar. And he, that wald hald weyr no mair,

202 Nor bargane with the nobill Kyng, Com syne his man with gud treting.

#### Here the King burns all Buchan, and gets the Castle of Forfar and destroys it.

N OW ga we to the King agane, That of his victor wes richt fane, 206 And gert his men burn all Bouchane Fra end till end, and sparit nane;

And heryit thame on sic maneir, That eftir that, weile fifty yheir,

- 300 Men menyt "the heirschip of Bouchane."
  The King than till his pes has tane
  The north cuntre, that humylly
  Obeysit till his senyhory.
- 304 Swa that be north the Month war nane That thai ne war his men ilkane. His lordschip wox ay mair and mair. Toward Angus than couth he fair,
- 308 And thoucht soyn to mak all fre Apon north half the Scottis Se.
  The castell of Forfer wes then
  Stuffit all with Inglis men.
- 312 Bot Philip the Forster of Platan Has of his frendis with him tane, And with ledderis all prevely To the castell he can hym hy,
- And clam out-our the wall of stane, And swagat has the castell tan, Throu falt of wach, with litill payn. And syn all that he fand has slayn:
- 320 Syne yhald the castell to the King, That maid hym richt gud rewarding, And syne gert brek doune the wall, And fordid well and castell all.

## How Good King Robert the Bruce besieged the Town of Perth.

OWHEN that the castell of Forfar,
And all the towris tumlit war
Doun to the erd, as I haf tald,
The wis king, that wes wicht and bauld,
That thoucht that he wald mak all fre
Apon north half the Scottis Se,
Till Perth is went with all his rout,
And umbeset the toune about,

299. C neir fifty (S). E weile, 309. Skeat reads Apon from All on in C; cf. lines 329, 460. E has That wes on the: H similarly.

332 And till it has ane sege soyn set.
Bot quhill it mycht haf men and met,
It mycht nocht, but gret payn, be tane
For the wallis war all of stane,

336 With thik towris and hye standand.
And that tym war thar-in duelland
Moffat, and als Olyfard;
Thei two the town had all in word.

That twa the toun had all in ward.

340 Of Strathern als the Erll wes thar; Bot his sone and of his men war Without, in-to the Kingis rout. Thar wes oft bikkyrring stith and stout,

344 And men slayn apon ilk party.
Bot the gud King, that all vitty
We in his dedis evirilkane,
Saw the wall so stith of stane,

348 And saw defens at that can ma, And how the toun wes hard to ta With oppyn assale, be strinth or mycht, Tharfor he thoucht to wirk with slicht.

352 And all the tym that he thair lay He spyit, and slely gert assay Quhar of the dik the schawdest was; Till at the last he fand a place

356 That men mycht to thair schulderis waid. And quhen he that place fundyn had, He gert his menyhe busk ilkane, Quhen sex woukis of the sege wes gane.

360 Thai tursit thair harnas halely, And left the sege all oppinly, And furth with all his folk can fair, As he wald do thar-to no mair.

### Here he gets it with Jeopardy.

And that that war within the toune, Quhen that to fair so saw him boune,

338. C has Olifert (S), but Olifard on record as in E. 359. C gives owkis (S).

Thai schowtit hym and scornyng maid; And he furth on his wayis raid,

368 As he na will had agane to turne,
Na besyde thame to mak sojorne.
Bot in aucht dais nocht-for-thi,
He gert mak ledderis prevely,

372 That mycht suffice till his entent, And in a myrk nycht syne is went \*Toward the toun with his menyhe.

\*Bot hors and knafis all left he \*376 Fer fra the toun, and syne has tane

\*Thair ledderis, and on fut are gane
Toward the toune all prevely.
Thai herd no wachis spek no cry:

376 For thai that war within, ma fall, As men that drede nocht, slepit all. Thai had no dreid than of the King, For thai of hym herd no tithing

380 All thai thre dais befor and mair;
Tharfor sekir and trast thai war.
And quhen the King herd thame nocht steir,
He wes blith apon gret maneir;

384 And his leddir in hand can ta, Ensampill till his men till ma, Arayit weill in all his geir, Schot in the dik, and with his speir

388 Tastit, quhill he weill our woude, Bot till his throt the wattir stude.

That tym wes in his cumpany A knycht of France, wicht and hardy;

392 And quhen he in the wattir swa Saw the King pas, and with him ta His leddir unabasitly, Ha sanyt him for the ferly,

396 And said; "A Lord! quhat sall we say "Of our lordis of France, that ay "With gud morsellis farsis thair panch, "And will bot et and drynk and dance,

<sup>\*374-\*377</sup> Four lines from C and H. E omits for usual reason.

400 "Quhen sic a knycht, sa richt worthy "As this is throu his chevelry, "In-to sic perill has hym set, "To wyn ane wrechit hamlet?"

404 With that word to the dik he ran, And our eftir the Kyng he wan. And quhen the Kyngis menyhe saw Thar lord pas our, in-till a thraw

408 Thai passit the dik, and, but mar let, Thair ledderis to the wall thai set; And to clym up fast pressit thai; Bot the gud Kyng, as I herd say,

412 Was the tothir man that tuk the wall, And baid thair, till his menyhe all War cummyn our in full gret hy; Yheit rais thar nouthir nois nor cry.

416 Bot soyn eftir thai noyis maid, That of thame first persaving had, So that the cry rais throu the toune; Bot he, that with his men wes boune

420 Till assale, to the toune is went, And the mast of his menyhe sent All scalit throu the toun, bot he Held with him-self a gret menyhe,

424 Swa that he mycht be appurvait, To defend, gif he war assayit.

> Bot thai, that he send throu the toune, Put soyn to gret confusioune

428 Thair fayis, that in beddis war, Or scalit, fleand heir and thair; That, or the sone rais, that had tane Thair fayis, or discumfit ilkane.

432 The wardanis bath tharin war tane: And Malis of Strathern is gane Till his fader, the Erll Malis, And with strinth tuk him and all his;

436 Syne, for his sake, the nobill King Gaf hym his land in governyng.

The laif, that ran out throu the toune, Sesit to thame in gret fusioune

440 Men, armyng and marchandis, And othir gudis on syndri wis; Quhill thai, that war eir pouer and bare, Of that gude rych and mychty war.

444 Bot thair wes few slayne; for the King, Had gevin thame in commandyng, On gret payn, thai suld slay nane, That, but gret bargane, mycht be tane;

448 That that war kynde to the cuntre He wist, and had of thame pite.

ON this maner the toun wes tane.
And syne the towris everilkane

452 And wallis gert he tummyll doune:
He levit nocht about that toune
Tour standand, stane no wall,
That he na haly gert distroy all.

456 And presoneris, that thair tuk he,
He send quhar thai mycht haldin be,

He send quhar thai mycht haldin be, And till his pes tuk all the land; Wes nane that durst him than withstand.

### Here All Scots obey the King except Lorn.

460 Apon north half the Scottis Se Obeysit all till his majeste, Outane the Lord of Lorn, and thai Of Argile that wald with him ga.

464 He held evir agane the King,
And hatit hyme atour all thing.
Bot yheit, or all the gammyn ga,
I trow weill that the King sall ta

468 Vengeans of his gret cruelte, And that him sair repent sall he, That he the King contraryit ay, May fall, quhen he no mend it may.

#### Here Sir Edward Bruce is much commended.

- The Kingis brothir, quhen the towne Wes takyn thus and doungyn doune, Schir Edward, that wes so worthy, Tuk with him a gret cumpany,
- 476 And tuk his gat toward Galloway. For with his men he walde assay Gif he recover mycht that land, And wyn fra Inglis mennys hande.
- 480 This Schir Edward, forsuth, I hicht, Wes of his handis a nobill knycht, And in blithnes swet and joly; Bot he wes outrageous hardy,
- 484 And of so hye undirtaking,
  That he had nevir none abasing
  Of multitude of men; for-thi
  He discumfit commonly
- 488 Mony with quheyn: tharfor had he Outour his peris renowne. And quha rehers wald all his deid, Of his hye worschipe and manheid
- 492 Men mycht mony romanys mak; And, nocht-for-thi, I think till tak On hand off hym to say sum thing, Bot nocht the tend part his travaling.
- This gud knycht, that I spek of heir,
  With all the folk that with hym weir,
  Weill soyn to Galloway cummyn is,
  All that he fand he maid it his;
- 500 And ryotit gretly the lande.
  Bot than in Galloway war wonnand
  Schir Ingerame Umphrevell, that wes
  Renownit of so hye prowes,
- That he of worschip passit the rout:
  Tharfor he gert ay ber about
  Apon a sper ane red bonat,
  In-to the takyn that he wes set

508 In-to the hicht of chevelry;
Of Sanct Johne als Schir Amery.
Thai twa the land had in stering,
And quhen thai herd of the cummyng
512 Of Schir Edward, that so planly

Our-raid the land, than in gret hy
Thai assemblit all thair menyhe.
I trow twelf hundreth thai mycht be.

#### Here Sir Edward Bruce discomfits the Englishmen at Cree.

Bot he with fewar folk thaim met Besyde Cre, and so hard thame set, With hard battale in stalwarde ficht, That he thame all put to the flicht,

520 And slew twa hundreth wele and ma, And the chiftanis in hy can ta Thair way to Buttill, for till be Resavit in-to gude savite.

524 And Schir Edward thame chasit fast; Bot till the castell at the last Gat Schir Ingerame and Schir Amery; Both the best of thair cumpany

528 Left ded behynd thame in the plas.
And quhen Schir Edward saw the chas
Wes falit, he gert seys the pray;
A swa gret cattell had away,

532 That it war woundir for till se.
Of Buttill tour thai saw how he
Gert his men drif with him thar pray,
Bot no let set tharin mycht thai.

536 Throu his chevelrous chevelry Galloway wes stonayit gretumly, And doutit hym for his bounte.

Sum of the men of the cuntre

540 Com till his pes, and maid him ath. Both Schir Amery, that had the scath Of the bargane I tald of er, Raid till Ingland, and purchast ther

- 544 Of armyt men gret cumpany,
  To venge hym of the velany
  That Schir Edwarde, the nobill knycht,
  Him did by Cre in-till the ficht.
- 548 Of gude men he assemblit thair Weill fyftene hundreth men and mar, That war of rycht gude renowne. His way with all that folk tuk he,
- 552 And in the land, all prevely,
  He enterit with that chevelry;
  Thinkand Schir Edward to suppris,
  Gif that he mycht on ony wis:
- 556 For he thought he wald him assale, Or that he left, in playn batale. Now may yhe heir of gret ferly, And of right hye chevelry.
- 560 For Schir Edward into the land Wes with his menyhe neir at hand; And in the mornyng richt airly He herd the cuntre men mak cry,
- 564 And had wittering of thair cummyng.
  Than buskit he him but delaying.
  And lap on hors deliverly.
  He had than in his rowt fifty,
- 568 Apon gude hors armyt richt weill.
  His small folk gert he ilk deill
  With-draw thame till a strate neir by:
  And he raid furth with his fifty.

## Here he discomfits far more manfully, that is to say, Fifteen Hundred with Fifty.

- 572 A knycht, that than wes in his rout, Worthy and wicht, stalward and stout, Curtas and fair, and of gude fame, Schir Alane of Catkert be name,
- 576 Tald me this taill as I sall tell.

  Gret myst in to the mornyng fell,
  Swa that men mycht nocht se thaim by,
  For myst, ane bow-draucht fullely.

575. C Carcat: S adopts Catcart.

580 Sa hapnyt that thai fand the trais, Quhar at the rout furth passit was Of thair fayis, that forouth raid. Schir Edward, that gret yharnyng had

584 All tyme for till do chevelry,
With all his rout in full gret hy,
Followit the tras quhar gane war thai:
And, before myd-morne of the day

588 The myst wox cleir all suddanly; Than he and all his cumpany War nocht ane bow-draucht fra the rout. Than schot thai on thame with a schout;

592 For gif thai fled, thai wist that thai Suld nocht weill ferd part get away. Tharfor in aventure till de He wald him put or he wald fle.

596 And quhen the Inglis cumpany Saw on thame cum so suddanly Sic folk, forouten abasing, Thai war stonayit for aftraying.

600 And the tothir, but mair abaid, So hardely emang thame raid, That fele of thame to erde thai bare. Richt gretly thus stonayit thai ware

Throu the fors of that first assay,
That thai war in-to gret affray,
And wend be fer thai had beyn ma,
For that thai war assalyhit swa.

608 And syne Schir Edwardis cumpany, Quhen thai had thrillit thame hastely, Set stoutly in the hedis agane, And at that cours borne down and slane

612 War of thair fais a gret party, That than affrait war so gretly, That thai war scalit gretly then. And quhen Schir Edward and his men

616 Saw thame in-to so ill aray,
The thrid tyme on thame prikid thai.
And thai that saw thame so stoutly
Cum on thame, dred thame gretumly,

620 That all thair rout, bath les and mair, Fled, ilkane scalit, heir and thair. Wes nane emang thame so hardy To byde, bot all comonly

624 Fled to warand; and he can chas, That wilfull till distroy thame was: For sum he tuk, and sum war slayn, Bot Schir Amery with mekill payn

628 Eschapit, and his gat is gane. His men discumfit war ilkane; Sum tane, sum slayn, sum gat away. This wes a richt fair point, perfay!

#### Sir Edward Bruce in a Year won Thirteen Castles.

632 Lo! how hardyment tane suddanly, And drivin syne till end scharply, May ger oft-sis unlikly thyngis Cum to richt fair and gud endingis!

636 Richt as it fell in this case heir; For hardyment, withouten weir, Wan fyftene hundreth with fifty, Quhar ay for ane thai war thretty:

640 And twa men ar a manis her;
Bot ure thame led on sic maner,
That thai discumfit war ilkane.
Schir Amery hame his gate is gane,

644 Richt blith that he so gat away.

I trow he sall nocht mony day
Have will to warra that cuntre,
With-thi Schir Edward tharin be!

648 Ande he duelt furth in-to the land,
Thame that rebelland war warrand,
And in a yheir so warrait he,
That he wan quytly that cuntre

652 Till his brothiris pes, the king; Bot that wes nocht but hard fichting. For in that time thair him befell Mony fair poynt, as I herd tell,

- 656 The quhilk that ar nocht writin heir. Bot weill I wat that, in that yheir, Thretten castellis with strynth he wan, And ourcom mony a mody man.
- 660 Quha-sa the suth of hym wald reid; Had he had mesur in his deid, I trow that worthyar than he Micht nocht in his tyme fundyn be,
- 664 Outakyn his brothir anyrly,
  To quhom, in-to gude chevelry,
  I dar peir nane wes in his day.
  For he led hym with mesure ay,
- 668 And with gret wit his chevelry
  He governit ay sa worthely,
  That he oft full unlikly thing
  Brocht rycht weill to gud ending.

#### Here Sir James Douglas meets with Sir Alexander Stewart, Lord Bonkill.

- 672 In all this tym James of Douglas
  In the Forest travaland was,
  And it throu hardiment and slicht
  Occupyit, magre all the mycht
- 676 Of his feill fayis, the quhethir thai Set him full oft in hard assay. Bot oft throu wit and throu bounte His purpos to gud end brocht he.
- 680 In-till that tym him fell, throu cas, A nycht, as he travaland was, And thought for till have tan restyne In a hous on the wattir of Lyne;
- 684 And as he com with his menyhe Neirhand the hous, swa lisnyt he, And herd thair sawis ilke deill, And be that he persavit weill
- 666. E Lyk wes nane in his day. Neither reading is quite satisfactory. Skeat puts a comma after nane, but what, then, is the subject of wes? Is it not a suppressed relative?—that? Cf. x. 86.

671. C omits rycht and inserts full gud. Skeat adopts both, but one is surely superfluous.

686. E has And herd ane say tharin, "The devill!" H like C.

688 At thai war strange men at thair That nycht thar-in herberyit wair. And as he thought it fell, per cas; For of Bonkill the lord thar was.

692 Alysander Stewart hat he, With othir ma of gret bounte, Thomas Randole of gret renown, And Adame alsua of Gordoun,

696 That com thair with gret cumpany, And thoucht in the Forest to ly, And occupy it throu thar gret mycht, Bath with travale and stallwart ficht,

700 To chas Douglas of that cuntre; Bot othir wayis than yheid the gle.

For quhen James had witteryng That strange men had tane herbreyng

704 In the place quhar he schupe to ly,
He till the hous went hastely,
And umbeset it all about.
Quhen thai within herd sic a rout

708 About the hous, thai rais in hy,
And tuk thair geir rycht hastely,
And schot furth, fra thai harnast war.
Thair fayis thaim met with wapnys bar,

712 And assalyheit richt hardely; And thai defendit douchtely With all thair mycht, till at the last Thar fais pressit thame so fast,

716 That thair folk falyheit thame ilkane. Thomas Randoll thar wes tane; And Alexander Stewarde alsua Wes woundit in a place or twa.

720 Adame of Gordoun fra the ficht, Quhat throu slicht and quhat throu mycht, Eschapit, and feill of his men; Bot thai that war arestit then,

724 War of thair taking woundir wa; Bot nedlyngis thame behufit be swa.

#### Here Sir James Douglas comes to the King with Sir Alexander Stewart and Thomas Randolph.

That nycht the gud lord of Douglas Maid to Schir Alysander, that was

728 His emys son, richt gladsum cheir: Sa did he als, forouten weir, Till Thomas Randole, for that he Wes till the King in neir degre

732 Of blude, for his sister him bare.
And on the morn, forouten mare,
Toward the nobill King he raid,
And with him bath thai twa he had.

736 The King of his cummyng wes blith, And thankit him tharof feill sith. And till his nevo can he say, "Thou has a quhill renyit thi fay;

740 "Bot thou reconsalit now mon be."
Then to the King soyn anseurd he,
And saide, 'Yhe chasty me, bot yhe
'Aw bettir chastyit for till be.

744 'For sen that yhe warrait the King
'Of Ingland in-to playn fichting
'Yhe suld pres till derenyhe yhour richt,
'And nocht with voidre na with slicht.'

748 The King said; 'Yheit may fall it may "Cum, or oucht lang, to sic assay. "Bot sen thou spekis so ryaly, "It is gret skill at men chasty

752 "Thi prowd wourdis till at thou knaw "The richt, and bow it as thou aw." The King, for-out mair delaying, Send hym to be in ferm keping,

756 Quhar that he all a quhill suld be, Nocht all apon his awn pouste.

#### BOOK X

#### Here the King passes against John of Lorn.

WHEN Thomas Randol, on this wis Wes takyn, as I heir devis, And send to duell in gud keping,

4 For the speke he spak to the King; The gud King, that thoucht on the scath, The dispit and felony bath, That John of Lorne had till him done,

8 His host assemblit he than soyn, And toward Lorn he tuk the way, With his men in to gude aray. Bot Johne of Lorn of his cummyng,

12 Lang or he com, had witteryng;
And men on ilk syde gaderit he,
I trow twa thousand thai mycht be;
And send thame for to stop the way,

16 Quhar the King behufit to ga: And that wes in ane evill place, That so strat and so narrow was, That twa men sammyn mycht nocht ryde

20 In sum place of the hyllis syde. The nethir half wes perelous; For a schoir crag, hye and hyduous, Raucht till the se, doun fra the pas.

24 On the owthir half ane montane was So cumrous and ek so stay, That it wes hard to pas that way. Crechanben hecht that montane.

28 I trow that nocht in all Bretane, Aye hyer hill may fundyn be. Thar Johne of Lorne gert his menyhe Enbuschit be abovyn the way;

32 For, gif the gud King held that way, He thought he suld soyn vencust be; And hym-self held hym on the se, Weill neir the pas with his galays.
36 Bot the King, that in all assays
Wes fundyn wis and averte,
Persavit thair subtilite,
And that he neid that gat suld ga.

40 His men departit he in twa;
 And to the gud lorde of Douglas,
 Quham in all wit and worschip was,
 He taucht the archaris evirilkane.

44 And this gud lord has with him tane Schir Alysander Freser the wicht, And Williame Wisman, a gud knycht, And with thame gud Schir Androu Gray:

48 Thir with thair menyhe held thar way, And clam the hill delyverly. And, or thai of the tothir party Persavit thame, thai had ilkane 52 The hicht abovyn thair fayis tane.

#### Here the King meets with John of Lorn's Company.

The King and his men held thar way,
And quhen in-to the pas war thai
Enterit, the folk off Lorne in hy
56 Apon the King rasit ane cry,
And schot, and tumlit on hym stanys.

And schot, and tumlit on hym stanys, Richt gret and hevy for the nanys. Bot that scathit nocht gretly the King;

60 For he had thar, in his leding, Men that licht and delyver war, And licht arming had on thaim thar, Swa that thai stoutly clam the hill,

64 And lettit thair fayis to fullfill The mast part off thar felony. And als, apon the tothir party, Com James of Douglas and his rout,

68 And schot apon thame with a schout, And woundit thame with arrowis fast. Syne with thair swerdis, at the last, Thai ruschit emang thame hardely.
72 For thai of Lorn, full manlely,
Grete and apert defens can ma.
Bot quhen thai saw at thai war swa

Assalyheit apon twa parteis,

76 And saw weill that thair enymyis Had all the farer off the ficht, In full gret hy thai tuk the flicht. And thai a felloun chas can ma,

80 And slew all at thai mycht ourta. And thai that mycht eschap, perfay, Richt till ane wattir held thair way, That ran doun by the hillis syde,

84 And wes rycht styth, bath deip and wyde, That men in na place mycht it pas Bot at ane brig beneth thaim was. To that brig held thai fast thair way,

88 And till brek it can fast assay.

Bot thai that chassit, quhen thai thaim saw,
Mak thair arest, but dreid or aw
Thai ruschit apon thame hardely,

92 And discumfit thame utrely, And held the brig haill, quhill the King, With all the folk of his leding, Passit the bryg all at thair ese.

96 Till Johne of Lorne it suld displese, I trow, quhen he his men mycht se, Out of his schippis fra the se, Be slayn and chassit fra the hill,

100 And he mycht set no help thar-till. For it angeris als gretumly, To gud hertis that ar worthy, Till se thair fais fulfill thair will,

104 As to thame-self to thole the ill.

72. C manfully (S), which is not a rhyme. 81. E but delay.

### Here the King besieges and wins Dunstaffnage Castle.

A T sic myscheiff war thai of Lorne; For feill the lyffis thair has lorne, And othir sum thai flede away.

108 The Kyng in hy gert ses the pray
Of all the land; quhar men mycht se
So gret aboundans cum off fe,
That it war woundir till behald.

The King, that stout wes, stark and bald, Till Dunstaffynch richt suddanely He past, and segit it sturdely And assalyheit, the castell to get.

II6 And in schort tyme he has thame set In sic thrang, that tharin war than, That, magre tharis, he it wan, And a gud wardane thair-in set.

120 And betaucht hym bath men and met, Swa that he thair lang tym mycht be, Magre thaim all of that cuntre. Schir Alexander of Argill that saw

124 The King distroy up, cleyn and law, His land, send tretis to the King, And com his man but tarying; And he resavit him till his pes.

128 But Johne of Lorn his son yheit wes Rebell, as he wes wont to be, And fled with schippes to the see.

Bot thai that left apon the land 132 War to the King all obeysand; And he thar homage all has tane; Syne toward Perth is passit agane, To play hym thair in-to the playn: 136 Yheit Lowdyan wes him agayn.

113-115. E has-

sturdely
A sege set; and besyly
Assaylit, etc.

118. C is wan (S), which is certainly wrong. 126. E mar duelling.

And at Lythkow wes than a peill, Mekill and stark, and stuffit weill With Inglis men, that wes reset

140 Till thaim that with armouris or met Fra Edinburgh wald to Strevilling ga, And fra Strevilling again alsua; And till the cuntre did gret ill.

144 Now may yhe heir, gif that yhe will, Interludys and juperdys, That men assayit on mony wis, Castellis and pelis for till ta.

148 And this Lithkow wes ane of thai; And I sall tell how it wes tane. In the cuntre thar wonnyt ane That husband wes, and with his fee

152 Oftsis hay to the peill led he.
Wilyhame Bunnok to nayme he hicht,
\*That stalward man wes in to ficht.
He saw sa hard the cuntre stad,
\*That he gret noy and pite had

Throu fortrassis that war then

156 Governit and led with Inglis men, Thai travalit men outour mesur. He wes a stout carle and a sture, And of him-self dour and hardy,

160 And had frendis wonnand hym by, And schew till sum his prevate; That apon his covyn gat he Men that mycht ane enbuschement ma,

164 Quhilf that he with his wayn suld ga Till lede thaim hay in-to the peill. Bot his wayn suld be stuffit weill: For aucht men armyt in the body

And with hay helyt be about.

And hym-self, that wes dour and stout, Suld by the wayn gang ydilly;

172 And ane yheman, wicht and hardy,

<sup>\*154, \*156.</sup> E omits. In C and H.

Befor suld dryf the wayn, and ber Ane hachit, that war scharp to scher, Undir his belt; and quhen the yhet 176 Wes opnyt, and thai war thar-at,

176 Wes opnyt, and that war thar-at, Quhen he herd hym cry sturdely, "Call all! Call all!" than hastyly He suld stryk with the ax in twa

180 The hede-soyme; than in hy suld thai, That war within the wayn, cum out, And mak debat, quhill at thar rout, That suld neir by enbuscht be,

184 Cum for to manteyme the melle.

This wes in-till the harvist tyde, Quhen feldis, that war fair and wyde, Chargit with corne assoverit war;

188 For syndri cornys that thai bair Woxe rype to wyn to mannys fude; And the treis all sammyn stude Chargit with froytis on syndri wis.

192 That sammyn tym, as I devis,
Thai of the peill had wonnyn hay,
And with this Bunnok spokin had thai
To leid thair hay, for he wes neir;

196 And he consentit but dangeir,
And said that in-to the mornyng
Weill soyn ane fudyr he suld bring,
Farer and greter, and weill mor

200 Than eny he broucht that yher befor:
And held thaim cunnand sekirly.
For that nycht warnyt he prevaly
Thaim that in the wayn suld ga,

And bad the buschement be alsua.

And thai so grathly sped thaim thar,

That or day thai enbuschit war

Weill neir the peill, quhar thai mycht heir

208 The cry alsoyne as ony weir, And held thame swa still but stering, That nane of thame had persavyng.

192. E and H have In this swete tyme.

And this Bunnok fast can him payn 212 Till dres his menyhe in his wayn;

And all a quhile befor the day,
He had thaim helit with the hay;
Than maid he him to yhok his fee,

216 Till men the sone schynande mycht se. And sum that war within the peill War yschit, on thair awn unseill, To wyn thair harvist neir thar-by.

That in his wayn closit he had,
Went on his way but mair abaid,
And callit his wayn toward the peill.

224 And the portar, that saw hym weill Cum neir the yhat, it opnyt soyn: And than Bunnok, forouten hoyn, Gert call the wayn deliverly.

228 And quhen it wes set evinly
Betuix the chekys of the yhet,
Swa that men mycht it spar na gat,
He cryit, "Theif! Call all! Call all!"

232 And he than leyt the gadwand fall, And hewit in twa the soym in hy. Bunnok with that deliverly Raucht till the portar sic ane rout

236 That blude and harnys bath com out.
And that that war within the wayn
Lap out belif, and soyn has slayn
Men of the castell that war by.

240 Than in a quhill begouth the cry:
And that that neir enbuschit war
Lap out, and com with swerdis bar,
And tuk the castell all but payn,

244 And thame that tharin wes has slayn.
And thai that war went furth beforn,
Quhen thai the castell saw forlorn,
Thai fled to warrand to and fra;

248 And sum till Edinburgh can ga, And till Strevilling ar othir gane, And sum in-to the way war slayn.

230. C has And he that wald no longer let.

## How Earl Thomas Randolph became Man to the Good King Robert the Bruce.

BUNNOK on this wis, wyth his wayn,
The peill tuk, and the men has slayn;
Syne taucht it to the Kyng in hy,
That hym rewardit worthely;
And gert doun driff it to the ground;
256 And syne our all the land can found,

256 And syne our all the land can found Settand in pes all the cuntre,
That till hym obeisand wald be.

And quhen a litill tym wes went,
260 Eftir Thomas Randale he sent,
And with hym so weill tretit he,
That he his man hecht for till be.
And the king him soyn forgaf:

264 Ande, for till hye his stat, hym gaf Murref, and tharof Erll hym maid And othir syndri landis braid He gaf him in-till heritage.

268 He knew his worthy vassalage, And his gret wit and his avis, His trast hart and his leill servis. Tharfor in hym affyit he,

272 And maid him rych of land and fee, As it wes certis richt worthy.

\*For, and men spek of him trewly, \*He was so curageous a knycht, \*So wis, so worthy, and so wycht, And of so soverane gret bounte.

That mekill of him may spokin be.

Therfor I think of hym to reid,
And till schaw part of his gud deid,

And till discryve yhow his fassoun With part of his condicioun.

280 He wes of mesurabill stature,
And portrait weill at all mesure,
With braid visage, plesand and fair,
Curtas at poynt, and debonar;
\*\*77.\*\*\*276 In F. but omitted by Pinkerte.

<sup>\*274-\*276.</sup> In E, but omitted by Pinkerton.

284 And of richt sekir contenyng.
Laute he lufit atour all thing;
Falsade, tresoune, and felony,
He stude agayne ay ythandly.

288 He hyet honour and larges, And ay mantemyt richtwisnes. In cumpany solacious

In cumpany solacious
He wes, and thar-with amorus.
292 And gud knychtis he lufit ay.

For gif that I the suth sall say, He wes fullfillit of all bunte, And off all vertuis maid wes he.

296 I will commend him heir no mar, Bot yhe sall weill heir forthirmar That he, for his dedis worthy, Suld weill be prisit soveranly.

300 WHEN the King wes thus with him saucht, And gret lordschippis had him betaucht, He wex so wis and avise, That his land first weill stablist he;

304 And syne he sped him to the were, Till help his eym and his effere.

With the consent of the gud Kyng, Bot with a sympill apparalyng,

308 Till Edinburgh he went in hy,
With gud men in-till cumpany,
And set a sege to the castele,
That than wes warnyst wondir wele

That than wes warnyst wondir wele
312 With men and vittale at all richt,
So that it dred no mannis mycht.

Bot this gud Erll nocht-for-thi The sege tuk full apertly:

316 And presyt the folk that thar-in was Swa that nocht ane the yhet durst pas. Thai may abyde thar-in and et Thair victaill, quhill thai oucht mai get:

320 Bot I trow that sall lettit be To purchas mair in the cuntre.

305. E in his myster. 316. C wes (S). 319. C mycht get (S).

THAT tym Edward, of Ingland Kyng, Had gevin the castell in keping

324 Till Schir Peris Lumbard a Gascoun.
And quhen thai of his warnysoun
Saw the sege set thair stithly,
Thai mystrowit hym of tratory,

328 For that he spokin had with the King. And, for that ilk mystrowing Thai tuk him and put in presoun; And off thair awne nacioun

332 Thai maid a constabill thaim to leid, Richt war and wis and wicht of deid. And he set wit and strinth and slicht To kepe the castell at his mycht.

336 But now of thame I will be still, And spek a litill quhill I will Of the douchty lord Dowglas, At that tym in the Forest was.

340 Quhar he full mony a juperdye, And fair poyntis off chevelry, Previt, als weill be nycht as day, Till thame that in the castellis lay,

344 Off Roxburgh and Jedworth; bot I Will let fele of thame pas forby. For I can nocht rehers thame all, And thouch I couth, trow weill yhe sall,

348 That I might nocht suffice thar-to, Sa mekill suld be thair ado. Bot thai that I wat wittirly, Eftir my wit rehers sall I.

# The winning of the Castle of Roxburgh by the Douglas through the Sleight of John Ledhouse.

THIS tym that the gud Erll Thomas
Assegit, as the lettir sais,
Edinburgh, James of Douglas
Set all his wit for till purchas

356 How Roxburgh throu subtilite Or ony craft, mycht wonnyn be; Till he gert Sym of the Ledows, A crafty man and a curious,

360 Of hempyn rapis ledderis ma, With treyn steppis bundin swa, That wald brek apon nakyn wis. A cruk thai maid, at thair devis,

364 Of irn, that wes styth and square; That, fra it in ane kyrnaill ware, And the leddir thar-fra stratly Strekit, it suld stand sekirly.

368 This lord of Douglas than, alsoyn
As this devisit wes and done,
Gaderit gud men in prevate;
Thre score I trow at thai mycht be.

372 And on the Fasteryn evyn rycht, In the begynnyng of the nycht, Till the castell thai tuk the way. With blak froggis all helit thai

376 The armouris at thai on thame had.
Thai com ner by thar but abaid,
And send haly thair hors thame fra,
And on range in ane rod can ga

380 On handis and feit, quhen thai war neir, Richt as thai ky and oxin weir, That war unbondyn left therout. It wes richt merk forouten dout:

384 The-quhethir ane, on the wall that lay, Besyde him till his feir can say, "This man thinkis to mak gude chere,' (And nemmyt ane husband thar-by neir)

388 "That has left all his oxyne out."
The tothir said, 'It is na dout
'He sall mak merye this nycht, thouch thai
'Be with the Douglas led away.'

392 Thai wende the Douglas and his men Had beyn oxyne, for thai yheid then On handis and feit, ay ane and ane. The Dowglas rycht gud tent has tane

359. C has That wes a man rycht craftyus. Text from E and H (S).

396 Till all thar speke, bot als-soyn thai Held carpand inward on thar way.

> The Douglas men thar-of wes blith. And till the wall thai sped thame swith,

400 And soyn has up thair ledderis set, That maid a clap, quhen the cleket Wes festnyt fast in the kyrnell. That herd ane of the wachis wele,

404 And buskit thiddirward but baid; Bot Ledous, that the leddyr maid, Sped hym to clym first to the wall: Bot, or he wes up gottin all,

408 He at that ward had in keping, Met him rycht at the up-cummyng; And for he thought to dyng hym doune, He maid na noyis na cry na sowne,

412 Bot schot till him deliverly. And he that wes in juperdy Till de, a lans till him he maid, And gat him be the nek but baid,

416 And stekit him upward with ane knyff, Quhill in his hand he left the liff. And guhen he ded sa saw him ly, Upon the wall he went in hy,

420 And doune the body kest thame till, And said, "All gangis as we will. "Speid yhow upward deliverly." And thai did swa in full gret hy.

424 Bot, or thai wan up, thar com ane, And saw Ledows stand him allane, And knew he wes nocht of thar men. In hy he ruschit till hym then,

428 And hym assalyheit sturdely; Bot he hym slew deliverly, For he wes armyt and wes wycht, The tothir nakyt wes, I hight,

432 And had nocht for till stynt no strak. Sic melle tharup can he mak, Quhill Douglas, and his menyhe all War wonnyn up apon the wall.

436 Than in the tour thai went in hy. The folk that tym wes halely In-to the hall at thair dansyng, Synging, and othir wayis playing:

440 As apon Fastryn evyn is The custom to mak joy and blis, To folk that ar in-to savite; Swa trowit that that tym to be.

444 Bot, or thai wist, rycht in the hall Douglas and his men cummyn war all. And cryit on hicht, "Douglas! Douglas!" And thai, that ma war than he was,

448 Herd "Dowglas!" cryit richt hidwisly, Thai war abasit for the cry, And schupe right na defens to ma. And that but pite can thame sla,

452 Till thai had gottyn the ovir hand. The tothir fled to seyk warrand, That out-our mesure dede can dreid. The wardane saw how that it yheid,

456 That callit wes Gylmyne de Fenis, In the gret toure he gotten is, And other of his cumpany, And sparit the entre hastily.

460 The layff, that levit war without, War tane or slane, forouten dout, Bot giff that ony lap the wall. The Douglas held that nycht the hall,

464 All-though his fais thar-of wes wa. His men war gangand to and fra Throu-out the castell all that nycht, Till on the morn that day wes lycht.

The wardane that wes in the tour, 468 That wes a man of gret valour, Gylmyne the Fynis, quhen he saw The castell tynt, bath hye and law,

472 He set his mycht for till defende The tour; but that without him send

471. E has be clene; cf. line 124.

Arrowes in so gret quantite, That anoyit tharof wes he.

476 Bot to the tothir day nocht-for-thi He held the tour full sturdely, And than at ane assalt he was Woundit so felly in the face,

480 That he wes dredand of his lif:
Tharfor he tretit thame belif,
And yhald the tour on sic maner,
That he and all that with hym weir

484 Suld saufly pas in-to Ingland.

Douglas held thame gud cunnand,
And convoyit thame to thair cuntre.

Bot thar full schort tym liffit he;

488 For throu the wound in-till the face He deit soyn, and beryit was. Douglas the castell sesit all, At than wes closit with stalward wall,

492 And send this Leydous till the Kyng, That maid hym full gret rewarding. And his brothir in full gret hy, Schir Edward, that wes sa douchty,

496 He send thiddir to tummyll it doune Bath tour, castell, and dungeoune. And he com with gret cumpany, And gert travale so besaly.

500 That tour and wall rycht to the ground War tumlyt in ane litill stound:
And duelt still thar, quhill Tevydaie
Com to the Kyngis pes all haill,

504 Outane Jedworth and othir that neir, The Inglis mennis bowndis weir.

### Here Sir Thomas Randolph besieges Edinburgh.

OWHEN Roxborgh won wes on this wis, The Erll Thomas, that hye enpris 508 Set ay apon soverane bounte, At Edinburgh with his menyhe Was lyand at the sege, as I Tald yhow befor all oppynly.

512 Bot fra he herd how Roxburgh was Tane with a trane, all his purchas, With wit and besynes, I hicht, He set to purches him sum slicht,

516 How he mycht help hym throu body Mellit with full hye chevelry, To wyn the wall of the castell

Throu sumkyn slicht; for he wist weill

520 That no strinth mycht it planly get, Quhill thai within had men and met. Tharfor prevely sperit he Gif ony man mycht fundin be,

That couth ony gude jupardye To clym the wallis prevelye; And he suld haf his warisoune.

For it wes his entencioune
Till put him in-to aventure

528 Till put him in-to aventure, Or at that sege on him forfure.

Than wes thair ane William Francas, Wicht and apert, wis and curtas, 532 That in-till his yhouthede had beyn In the castell; quhen he has seyn The Erll sa ynkirly hym set Sum sutelte or wile to get, 536 Quhar-throu the castell haf mycht he,

He com till hym in prevate,
And said; "Me think yhe wald blithly
"That men fand yhow sum juperdy,

540 "How yhe mycht our the wallis wyn:
"And certis gif yhe will begyn
"For till assay on sic a wis,
"I undirtak, for my service,

<sup>516.</sup> C has throu vietory, from which S adopts voidry="cunning" as "a shrewd guess." Text from E.
529. E H mysfure.

<sup>531.</sup> In C pert, E curyus (S).

The Bruce [BOOK X

544 "For to ken yhow to clym the wall, "And I sall formast be off all;

"Quhar with a schort leddir may we,

"I trow of tuelf fut it may be,

548 "Clym to the wall up all quytly.
"And gif that yhe will wit how I
"Wat this, I sall yhow lichtly say.

"Quhen I wes yhoung this hendir day,

552 "My fader wes kepar of yhon hous, "And I wes sumdele volageous,

"And lufit ane wench her in the toune;

"And for I, but suspicioun,

556 "Micht repair till hir prevely,
"Of rapis ane leddir to me maid I,

"And tharwith our the wall I slaid.

"Ane strat rod, that I spyit had

560 "In-till the crag, syne doune I went;

"And oftsis com to myne entent;
"And quhen it neir drew to the day,

"I held agane that ilke way,

564 "And ay com in but persaving.

"I oysit lang that travalling, "So that I can that rod ga richt,

"Though men se nevir so myrk the nycht.

568 "And gif yhow thinkis yhe will assay

"To pass up eftir me that way,

"Up to the wall I sall yhow bring,

"Gif God us kepis fra persaving

572 "Of thame that wachis on the wall.
"And gif that us so fair may fall,

"That we our leddir up may set,

"Giff a man on the wall may get,

576 "He sall defend, gif it beis neid, "Quhill the remanand up thaim speid." The Erll wes blith of his carping,

And hight him full fair rewardyng;

580 And undirtuk that gat to ga,
And bad him soyn his leddir ma,
And hald him preve quhill thai mycht
Set for thair purpos on ane nycht.

568 E yhe think.

#### The winning of the Castle of Edinburgh by Good Earl Thomas Randolph.

- 584 Soyne eftir wes the leddir maid; And than the Erll, but mair abaid, Purvait hym on a nycht prevaly, With thritty men, wicht and hardy;
- 588 And in ane myrk nycht held thar way.
  Thai put thame in full hard assay,
  And to gret perell sekyrly.
  I trow, mycht thai haf seyne cleirly,
- 592 That gat had nocht beyn undirtane,
  Thouch thai to let thame had nocht ane.
  For the crag wes hye and hidwous,
  And the clymbyng rycht perelus:
- 596 For hapnyt ony to slyde or fall, He suld be soyne to-fruschit all. The nycht wes myrk, as I herd say, And till the fut soyn cummyn ar thai
- 600 Of the crag, that wes hye and schore, Than Williame Francous thame befor Clam in the crykis forouth thaim ay, And at the bak him followit thai,
- 604 With mekill payne, quhill to, quhill fra;
  Thai clam in-to the crykis swa,
  Quhill half the craggis thai clummyn had,
  And thair ane place thai fand so braid,
- 608 That thai mycht syt on anerly.
  And thai war ayndles and wery,
  And thair abaid thair aynd to ta.
  And richt as thai war syttand swa,
- 612 Abovyn thame, apon the wall, The chak-wachis assemblit all. Now help thame God that all thing may! For in full gret perell ar thai.
- 616 For, mycht thai se thame, thair suld nane Eschap out of that place unslane; Till ded with stanys thai suld thaim dyng, That thai mycht help thame-self no thing.

620 Bot wondir myrk wes all the nycht, Swa that thai had of thame na sycht. And nocht-for-thi yheit wes thar ane Of thame that swappit doun a stane,

624 And said, "Away! I se yhow weill."

The-quhethir he saw thame nocht a deill.

Out our thair hedis flaw the stane,

And thai sat still, lurkande ilkane.

628 The wachis, quhen thai herd nocht stere, Fra that ward passit all sammyn were, And carpand held fer by thair way. Erll Thomas than alsoyne, and thai

632 That on the crag thar satt hym by, Toward the wall clam hastely, And thiddir com with mekill mayne, And nocht but gret perell and payne.

636 For fra-thine up wes grevousar
To clym up, na be-neth be fer.
Bot quhatkyn payn at evir thai had,
Richt to the wall thai com but baid,

640 That had weill neir tuelf fut on hicht.
And, for-owt persaving or sicht,
Thai set their ledder to the wall,
And syne Francous, befor thame all,

644 Clam up, and syne Schir Androu Gray, And syne the Erll him-self, perfay, Wes the thrid man the wall can ta. Quhen thai thair doun thair lord swa

648 Saw clymen up apon the wall, As wood men thai clame eftir all.

Bot or up cummyn all wer thai, Thai that war wachis till assay

652 Herd bath stering and ek speking, And alswa fraying of armyng, And on thame schot full sturdely: And thai met thame richt hardely;

656 And slaw off thame dispitwisly.

Than throu the castell ras the cry,

650. E clumbene.

"Tresoune! Tresoune!" thai cryit fast. Than sum of tham war sa agast,

660 That thai fled and lap our the wall.
Bot to say suth, thai fled nocht all;
For the constabill, that wes hardy,
All armyt schot furth to the cry,

664 And with him feill hardy and stout.
Yheit wes the Erll with his rout,
Fechtand with thame apon the wall;
Bot soyn he thame discomfit all.

668 Be that his men war cummyn ilkane
Up at the wall, and he has tane
His way doune to the castell soyne.

In gret perell he has hym done;

672 For thair wes fer ma men tharin, And thai had beyn of gude covyn, Than he; bot thai effrayit war. And nocht-for-thi with wapnys bar,

676 The constabill and his cumpany Met hym and his richt hardely,

Thar men micht se gret bargane rys, For with wapnys, on mony wis,

680 Thai dang on other at thar mycht, Quhill swerdis, that war fayr and brycht, War till the hyltis all bludy. Then hidwisly begouth the cry;

684 For thai that fellit or stekit war
With gret noyis can cry and rar.
The gud Erll and his cumpany
Faucht in that ficht so sturdely,

688 That all thair fayis ruschit war.

The constabill wes slayn richt thar:

And fra he fell, the remanand

Fled quhar thai best mycht to warrand:

692 Thai durst nocht byde na mak debat. The Erll wes handlyt thair sa hat, That had it nocht hapnyt throw cas, That the constabill thair slayn was, 696 He had beyn in gret perell thar; Bot than thai fled, thar was no mar, Ilke man for to sauf his lif, And furth his dayis for to drif;

700 And sum slaid doune out our the wall. The Erll has tane the castell all, For than wes nane durst him withstand. I hard nevir quhar in ane land,

704 Wes castell tane so hardely, Outakyn Tyre all anerly, Quhen Alexander the Conquerour, That conquerit Babilonys tour,

708 Lap fra a berfrois on the wall; Quhar he emang his fayis al Defendit him full douchtely, Quhill that his noble chevelry

712 With ledderis our the wallis yheid, That nouthir left for ded no dreid; For fra thai wist weill at the king Wes in the toune, ther wes no thing

716 In-till that tyme that stint thame mocht, For all perell thai set at nocht. Thai clam the wallis, quhar Arestee Com first to the gude king, quhar he

720 Defendit him with all his mycht,
That than wes set so hard, I hicht,
That he wes fellit on a kne:
He till his bak had set ane tre,

724 For dreid thai suld behynd assalyhe. Arestee then to the battalyhe Sped him in all hye sturdely, And dang on thame so douchtely,

728 That the king weill reskewit was.
For his men, in-to syndry plas,
Clam our the wall and soucht the kyng,
And him reskewit with hard fichting;

732 And wan the toune deliverly. Outakyn this takyng all anerly, I herd nevir in na tyme gane Quhar castell wes sa stoutly tane. 736 And of this takyng that I meyne, Sanct Mergaret, the gud haly queyne, Wist in hir tyme, throw reveling Of him that knawis and wat all thing.

740 Tharfor, in stede of prophesye, Scho left ane takyne richt joly, That is that scho in hir chapell Gert weill be portrait ane castell,

744 A leddir up to the wall standand And a man thar-on clymande, And wrat owth him, as old men sayis, In Franch, Gardis vous de Francois.

748 And for this word scho gert writ swa, Men wend the Franch-men suld it ta. Bot for Francois hattyn wes he, That swa clam up in prevate,

752 Scho wrat that as in prophesy:
And it fell eftirward suthly
Richt as scho said; for tane it was,
And Francois led thame up that place.

756 ON this wis Edinburgh wes tane; And thai that war tharin ilkane War tane, or slane, or lap the wall; Thair gudis haff thai sessit all,

760 And soucht the housis evirilkane. Schir Peris Lumbard that wes tane, As I said ere befor, thai fand In presoune, fetterit with boyis, sittand.

764 Thai brought hym to the Erll in hy, And he gert lows hym hastely; Than he becom the Kingis man. Thai send word to the King rycht than,

768 And tald how the castell wes tane; And he in hy is thiddir gane, With mony men in cumpany, And gert myne doune all halely

772 Bath tour and wall richt to the ground: And syne our all the land can found,

742. E That is yheit in-till; but cf. line 746.

Sesand the cuntre till his pes. Of this deid, that so worthy wes,

776 The Erll wes prisit gretumly.

The King, that saw him sa worthy,
Wes blith and joyfull our the laif,
And to manteym his stat, him gaff

780 Rentis and landis fair eneuch. And he to sa gret worschip dreuch, That all spak of his gret bounte. His fayis gretly stonayit he,

784 For he fled nevir throu fors of ficht. Quhat sail I mair say of his mycht? His gret manheid, and his bountee Gerris him yheit oft renownyt be.

## How Sir Edward won Ru'glen peel And Dundee, then Stirling, besieged well.

788 I N this tyme that thir juperdyis On thir castellis, that I devis, War eschevit swa hardely, Schir Edward the Brois, the worthy,

792 Had all Galloway and Nyddis-daill Wonnyn till his liking all haill; And doungyn doune the castellis all Richt in the dik, bath tour and wall.

796 He herd than say, and knew it weill, That in Ruglyne wes ane peill. Thiddir he went with his menyhe, And wonnyn it in schort tym has he.

800 Syne till Dunde he tuk the way, That than wes haldin, as I herd say, Agane the King; tharfor in hy He set ane sege thar-to stoutly,

804 And lay thar quhill it yholdyn was.

Till Strevilling syne the way he tais,
Ouhar gud Schir Philip the Mowbra,
That wes full douchty at assay,

808 Wes wardane, and had in keping That castell of the Inglis Kyng.

Thar-till ane sege he set stythly; Thai bykkirrit oftsis sturdely;

812 Bot gret chevelry done wes nane.
Schir Edward, fra the sege wes tane,
A weill lang tyme about it lay,
Fra the Lenteryne, that is to say,

816 Quhill forrouth the Saint Johnnis mes. The Inglis folk, that tha-rin wes, Begouth to fale the vittale than. Than Schir Philip, the douchty man,

820 Tretit, quhill that consentit weir, That gif at Mydsummer tyme ane yheir To cum, it war nocht with bataill Reskewit, that than, withouten faill,

824 He suld the castell yheld quytly. That cunnand band thai sekirly.

# BOOK XI

AND quhen this cunnand thus wes maid, Schir Philip in-to Ingland raid, And tald the King all haill this tale, How he a tuelf moneth all hale

5 Had, as it writtin wes in thair tale, Till reskew Strevilling with battale. And quhen he herd Schir Philip say That Scottis men had set ane day To fecht, and at sic space he had

Till purvay hym, he wes rycht glad;
And said, it wes gret succuddry
That set thame apon sic folye;
For he thocht to be, or that day,
So purvait, and in sic aray,

That thair suld na strinth him with-stand.
And quhen the lordis of Ingland
Herd at this day wes set planly,
Thai jugit it to gret foly,
And thought till haff all thair liking,

20 Giff men abaid thame in fechting.

Bot oft falyheis the fully thoucht: And wis mennis etling cumis nocht Till sic end as thai weyn alwayis. A litill stane oft, as men sayis,

25 May ger weltir a mekill wane.

Na manis mycht may stand agane
The grace of God, that all thing steris;
He wat quhat-to all thing efferis,
And disponis at his liking,

30 Eftir his ordinans, all thyng.

The winning of Stirling by Sir Edward the Bruce, though the Battle was set over a Year and a Day, betwixt him and Sir Philip the Mowbray.

WHEN Schir Edward, as I yhow say, Had gevyn sa outrageous a day To yheld or reskew Strevilling, Richt soyne he went on-to the King. 35 And tald quhat tretis he had maid, And quhat day he thame gevyn had. The King said, quhen he herd the day, "That wes unwisly done, perfay; "I herd nevir quhar so lang warnyng 40 "Wes gevin to so mychty ane Kyng " As is the Kyng of England. "For he has now in-till his hand "Ingland, Irland, and Walys alsua, " And Akatane yhet, with all tha 45 "That duellis undir his senyhory, "And of Scotland a gret party. "And off tresour so stuffit is he, "That he may wageowris haf plente. "And we ar qwheyn agane so fele; 50 "God may richt weill our werdis deill, "Bot we ar set in juperdy "To tyne or wyn than hastely." Schir Edward said; 'Sa God me reid! 'Thouch he and all that he may leid

55 'Cum, we sall fecht, all war thai ma.' Quhen the King herd his brothir swa Spek to the battale so hardely, He prysit hym in his hert gretly, And said; "Brothir, sen swa is gane

60 "At this thing thus is undirtane, "Schap we us tharfor manfully;

"And all that lufis us tendirly "And the fredome of this cuntre,

"Purvay thaim at that time to be

65 "Bowne with all mycht that evir thai may;

"Swa that gif our fayis assay

"To reskew Strevillyng throu battale, "That we of purpos ger thame faill."

The assembling of the English host, That with great power came and boast.

TILL this all thai assentit ar,
And bad thair men all mak thaim yhare
For to be boune agane that day
On the best wis that evir thai may.
Than all, that worthi war to ficht
Of Scotland, set all haill thair mycht

75 Till purvay thame agane that day;
Wapnys and armowris purvayit thai,
And all that efferis to fichting.
And of Ingland the mychty Kyng
Purvait hym on so gret aray,

80 That certis nevir I herd yheit say
That Inglis men mair aparaile
Maid, than thai did than for battale.
And quhen the type wes cummyn ner,

He assemblit all his power.

85 And, but his awne chevelry,

That was so gret it was ferly

That wes so gret it wes ferly, He had of mony a fer cuntre With hym gud men of gret bounte. Of Frans ane worthy chevelry

90 He had in-till his cumpany; The Erll of Hennaut als wes thar, And wyth him men that worthy war; Of Gascon and of Almanyhe; Of Duche als and of Bretanyhe

95 He had wicht men and weill farrand, Armyt clenly at fut and hand.

\*97 Of Ingland hale the chevelry

\*98 He had thair gaderit so clenly,
That he left nane mycht wapnys welde,
Or worthy war to ficht in felde.
Of Walis als wyth hym had he,

of Pouty, Aquytane, and Bayon
He had full mony of gret renoun.

\*103 And of Scotland he had yheit then
\*A gret menyhe of worthy men.

\*Quhen all thir sammyn assemblit war,

\*106 He had of fechtaris with hym thar.

Ane hundreth thousand men and ma:

And fourty thousand war of tha

Armyt on hors, bath hede and hand.
And yheit of thai war thre thousand
Wyth helit hors in plate and mailyhe,
Till mak the front of the batailyhe
And fifty thousand of archerys

With men on fut and small rangale,
That yhemyt harnas and vittale
He had so fele it wes ferly.

Of cartis als that yheid thame by 115 So feill that, but all thai that bar Harnas, and als that chargit war

Of palyheonys and veschall with-all, And apparall of chalmyr and hall, And wyne and wax, schot and vittale,

120 Four scor wes chargit with fewale. Thai war so fele quhar at thai raid, And thar batalis war ek so braid,

93. E has And off the worthyast of Bretangny.

\*97, \*98 omitted by P. \*103, \*106. Not in E. In C. H.

109. C in-till playn male . . . battale (S). H as in E. 120. E viii. : pulaile, H as in C.

And so gret rowme held thar charre, That men that mekill host mycht se

Men mycht se than, that had beyn by, Mony ane worthy man and wycht, And mony ane gayly armyt knycht, And mony ane sturdy sterand steid

130 Arayit in-till so ryche weid;
And mony helmys, and hawbyrschownys,
\*Scheldis and speris, and pennownys,
And so mony a cumly knycht,
At semyt weill that in-to ficht

Thai suld vencus the warld all hale.

135 Quhy suld I mak to lang my tale? Till Berwik ar thai cummyn ilkane, And sum thar-in thar innys has tane, And sum lugit without the townys, In tentis and in palyheownis.

### How Englishmen menaced at will The Scots and dealt their lands till.

A ND quhen the Kyng his host has seyne So gret, so gud men, and so cleyne, He wes richt joyfull in his thoucht, And weil presumyt thar wes nocht In warld a Kyng mycht him withstand.

145 Hym thought all wonnyn till his hand, And largely emang his men The landis of Scotland delt he then. Of othir mennis landis large wes he. And thai, that war of his menyhe,

150 Mannausit the Scottis men halely With gret wordis; but, nocht-for-thi, Or thai cum all to thair entent, Howis in haill clath sall be rent!

## In ten battles the English men Were dealt and taught to chieftains then.

The Kyng, throu consall of his men,
155 His folk he delt in battalis ten.
In ilkane war weill ten thousand,
That thoucht thai stalwardly suld stand
In the battale and stoutly ficht,
And leif nocht for thair fayis mycht.

160 He set ledaris till ilk battale, Knawyn war of gud governale. And till renownyt erllis twa, Of Glowcister and Herfurd war thai, He gaf the vangard in ledyng,

165 With mony men at thar bydding, Ordanit in-till full gret aray. Thai war so chevelrus, that thai Trowit, gif thai com to the ficht, Thair suld no strynth with-stand thar mycht.

170 And the Kyng, quhen his menyhe wer Devisit in-to battalis ser, His awne battale ordanit he, And quha suld at his bridill be. Schir Gylys de Argente he set

175 Upon ane half, hys renyhe to get; And of Vallanch Schir Amery On othir half, that wes worthy; For in thair soverane gret bownte Atour the layff affyit he.

## How all the noble chivalry At Edinburgh took harbery.

180 A ND quhen the Kyng, apon this wis,
Had ordanit, as I heir devis,
His battalis and his stering,
Arly he rais in ane mornyng,
And fra Berwik he tuk the way.
185 Bath hyllis and valayis helit thai,

161. E That knawin.

And the battalis that war so braid Departit, our the feldis raid. The sonne wes brycht and schynand cler, And armys, that new burnyst wer, 190 So blenknyt with the sonnys beyme, That all the land wes in ane leyme With baneris richt freschly flawmand, And pensalis to the wynd waffand, So fele that war of ser quyntis, 195 That it war gret slicht to devis. For suld I tell all thar effer, Thair countynans and thar maner, Though I couth, I suld cummerryt be. The King, with all that gret menyhe, 200 Till Edinburgh he raid on rycht. Thai war all out to fele to ficht With few folk of ane sympill land;

### How in this time assembled then, To King Robert have certain men.

Bot quhar God helpis quhat may withstand?

THE Kyng Robert, quhen he herd say

That Inglis men in sic aray
And in-to sa gret quantite,
Com in his land, in hy gert he
His men be summond generaly;
And thai come all full willfully

To the Torwod, quhar at the Kyng
Had ordanit to mak thar meting.
Schir Edward the Bruce, that wes worthy,
Com with a full gret cumpany
Of gud men, armyt weill and dicht,
Hardy and forsy for the ficht.
Waltir, Steward of Scotland, syne,
That than wes bot ane berdlas hyne,
Com with a rout of nobill men,
That all be contynans mycht ken.

191. C felde (S). E H land.

- 220 And the gud lord Dowglas alswa Brocht with him men, I undir-ta, That weill war oysit in fichting; Thai sall the les haf abaysing, Giff men betyd in thrang to be;
- 225 And avantage sall tytar se
  For till stonay thar fayis mycht,
  Than men that oysis nocht to ficht.
  The Erll of Murreff, with his men
  Arrayit weill, com alsua then
- 230 In-to gud covyne for to ficht,
  In gret will to maynteyme thar rycht;
  With othir mony gud baroune,
  And knychtis of full gret renoune,
  Com with thair men full stalwardly.
- Our all the host than yheid the Kyng, And beheld to thair contenyng, And saw thame of full fair effer; Of hardy contynans thai wer, Be liklynes the mast cowart
- 245 Semyt till do richt weill his part.
  The King has seyn all thair having,
  That knew hym weill in-to sic thing,
  And saw thame all comonly
  Of sekyr contynans and hardy,
- 250 Forouten effray or abaysyng.
  In his hert had he gret liking.
  And thoucht that men of sa gret will,
  Gif thai wald set thair mycht thair-till,
  Suld be full hard till wyn, perfay.
- 255 Ay as he met thame in the way, He welcummyt thame with gladsum fair, Spekand gud wordis heir and thair.
  - 235. C has assemblit worthely (S). H hailly, as in E.

And thai, that thar lord so mekly Saw welcum thame and so hamly, 260 Joyfull thai war, and thought at thai Micht weill put thame in-till assay Of hard fechting in stalwart stour, For till maynteym weill his honour.

The parting of the Scots men, That in four battles dealt were then.

THE worthy Kyng, quhen he has seyn 265 His host assemblit all bedeyn, And saw thame wilfull to fulfill His liking, with gud hert and will; And to maynteym weill thair franchis, He wes rejosit on mony wis;

270 And callit all his consell preve, And said thame; "Lordingis, now yhe se

"That Inglis men with mekill mycht "Has all disponit thame for the ficht;

" For thai yhon castell wald reskew.

275 "Tharfor is gud we ordane now "How we may let thame of purpos,

"And swa to thame the wayis clos "That thai pas nocht but gret lettyng.

"We haf heir with us at byddyng

280 "Weill thretty thousand men and ma. "Mak we four battalis of all thai;

"And ordane us on sic maner,

"That, quhen our fayis cummys neir,

"We till the New Park hald our way;

285 "For thair behufis thaim pas, perfay, "Bot gif that thai beneth us ga

"And our the marras pas, and swa

"We sall be at avantage thair.

"For me think that richt speidfull war

259. E hamly. H hamely. C myldly (S). 285. E nede away. C neidwais gay. Reading from H (S). 287. E passand. There is a difficulty in either reading.

290 "To gang on fut to this feehting,"Armyt bot in-to licht armyng;"For schupe we us on hors to ficht,"Syn our fayis ar mar of mycht,

"And bettir horsit than ar we,

295 "We suld in-to gret perell be.
"And gif we fecht on fut, perfay,
"At avantage we sall be ay;

"For in the park emang the treis,
"The hors men alwais cummerit beis.

300 "And the sykis alswa thair doune, "Sall put thame to confusioune."

All that consentit to that saw, And than, in-till ane litill thraw, Thair four battalis ordanit thai. 305 And to the Erll Thomas, perfay, He gaf the vaward in leding; For in his nobill governing And in his hye chevelry Thai assoueryt rycht soveranly. 310 And, for to maynteym his baner, Lordis, that of gret worschip wer, War assignit with thair menyhe, In-till his battale for till be. The tothir battale wes gevin to lede 315 Till hym that douchty wes of dede, And prisit of gret chevelry, That wes Schir Edward the worthy; I trow he sall manteyme him swa That, how sa evir the gammyn ga, 320 His fayis to plenyhe sall mater haf. And syne the thrid battale he gaf To Waltir Stewart for to leid,

And till Dowglas douchty of deid. Thai war cosyngis in neir degre, 325 Tharfor till hym betaucht wes he,

<sup>309.</sup> C Thai had assoverans, trast trewly! (S). H Thai had affiance soverainely.

For he wes yhoung; but nocht-for-thi I trow he sall sa manfully Do his devour, and wirk so weill, That hym sall nevd no mar yheymseill.

330 The ferd battalle the nobill Kyng Tuk till hym-self in governyng, And had in-till his cumpany The men of Carryk all halely, And of Argile and of Kentyre,

335 And of the Ilis, quhar-off wes syre Angus of Ile, and But, all tha. He of the playne-land had alsua Of armyt men ane mekill rout; His battale stalward wes and stout.

340 He said the rerward he wald ma, And evyn forrouth hym suld ga The vaward, and on athir hand The tothir battalis suld be gangand Behynd, on syde a litell space:

345 And the Kyng, that behynd thaim was, Suld se quhar thair war mast mystir, And relief thaim with his baneir.

> How King Robert gart pots make And cover them well, I undertake.

THE King thus, that wes wicht and wis, And richt worthy at all devis, 350 And hardy als atour all thing,

Ordanit his men for the fechting. And on the morn, on Settirday, The King herd his discurrouris say That Inglis men with mekill mycht

355 Had lyin at Edinburgh that nycht. Tharfor, forouten mair delay, He to the New Park held his way

326. C and nocht (S).

336. C of Ilis (S). He was " of Islay."

<sup>350.</sup> E omits. In C and H. E gives after line 351 In gud aray in alkin thing.

With all that in his leding war, And in the Park thame herbryit thar.

360 And in ane playne feld, by the way, Quhar he thought neid behufit away The Inglis men, gif that thai wald Throw the Park to the castell hald, He gert men mony pottis ma,

365 Of a fut breid round, and all tha War deip up till ane manis kne, Swa thik, that thai mycht liknyt be Till ane wax-cayme that beis mais. All that nycht travaland he was;

370 Swa that, or day wes, he had maid Thai pottis, and thame helit had With stikis and with gyrs al greyne, Swa that thai mycht nocht weill be seyne.

On Sonday than in the mornyng,
Weill soyn eftir the sonne-rising,
Thai herd the mes full reverently.
And mony shraf thame devotly,
That thoucht till de in that melle,
Or than to mak thar cuntre fre.

380 To God for thair richt prayit thai.

Thair dynit nane of thame that day,
Bot, for the vigill of Sanct Johne,
Thai fastit bred and wattir ilkone.
The King, quhen that the mes wes done,

385 Went for to se the pottys soyne;
And at his liking saw thaim maid.
On athir syde the way weill braid
It wes pottit, as I haf tald.
Gif that thair fais on hors will hald

390 Furth in that way, I trow thai sall Nocht weill eschew foroutyn fall.

Throu-out the host syne gert he cry
That all suld arme thame hastely,
And busk thame on that best maner.

395 And quhen thai all essemblit wer,

376. E thair mess commounaly.

He gert aray thame for the ficht,
And syne our all gert cry on hicht,
That quhat sa evir he war that fand
His hert nocht sekir for till stand
400 To wyn all or de with honour,
For to maynteyme that stalward stour,
That he be tyme suld tak his way;
And nane suld duell with him bot thai
That wald stand with him to the end,
405 And tak the ure that God wald send.
Then all ansuerd with a cry,
And with a voce said generaly;
That nane for dout of dede suld fale,
Quhill discumfit war the battale.

410 WHEN the gud King had herd his men Sa hardely him ansuer then, Sayand that nouthir ded no dreid Till sic discomfort suld thame leid, That thai suld eschew the fechting,

For him thought men of sic covyne, So gud so hardy and so fyne, Suld weill in battall hald thair rycht Agane men of full mekill mycht.

420 Syne all the small folk and pouerale
He send with harnase and vittale
In-till the Park, weill fer him fra,
And fra the battall gert thame ga;
And as he bad, thai went thair way;

425 Twenty thousand weill neir war thai.
Thair way thai held till ane vale,
The King left with ane clene menyhe;
The-quhethir thai war thretty thowsand.
I trow they stalwardly sall stand,

430 And do thair devour as thai aw.
Thai stude than rangit all on raw,
Reddy for till byde battale,
Gif ony folk wald thame assale.

## How the King bad the Earl Murray To keep beside the Kirk the way.

The King gert thame all buskit be,
435 For he wist in-to certante
That his fayis all nycht lay
At the Fawkirk, and syne at thai
Held toward him the way all straucht,
With mony men of mekill mawcht.

440 Tharfor till his nevo bad he,
The Erll of Murreff, with his menyhe,
Besyd the kirk till kepe the way,
That na man pass that gat away,
For-out debat, to the castele.

445 And he said, that him-self suld wele Kepe the entre with his battale, Gif that ony wald thair assale. And syne his brothir, Schir Edward, And yhoung Waltir, the gud Steward,

450 And the lord Dowglas alsua,
With thair menyhe, gud tent suld ta,
Quhilk of thaim had of help mister,
And help with thame that with him weir.

The King send than James of Douglas
455 And Schir Robert of Keth, that wes
Marshal of all the host of fee,
The Inglis mennys com to se.
And thai lap on and furth thai raid;
Weill horsit men with thame thai had:

- 460 And soyn the gret host haf thai seyne
  Quhar scheldis schynand war so scheyne,
  And basnetis weill burnyst bricht,
  That gaf agane the sonne gret licht.
  Thai saw so fele browdyn baneris,
- 465 Standartis, pennownys and speris, And so feill knychtis apon stedis, All flawamand in-to thair wedis,
- 440. C said he (S). 443. C past (S). H sould passe. 453. C Suld help (S).

And so fele battalis and so braid, That tuk so gret rowme as thai raid, That the most boot and the stoutest

470 That the mast host and the stoutest Of Crystyndome, and ek the best, Suld be abasit for till se Thair fais in-to sic quantite, And swa arayit for to ficht.

475 Quhen the discurrowris has had sicht Of thair fais, as I herd say,
Towart the King thai tuk the way,
And tald him, in gret prevate,
The multitude and the bewte

480 Of thair fais, that comme so braid, And of the gret mycht at thai had. Than the King bad thame thai suld ma Na contynans that it war swa; Bot bad thame in-to commoune say

485 That thai com in-till evill aray,
And confort his man on that wis.
For oftsis of ane word may ris
Discomfort and tynsall with-all.
And throu a word, als weill may fall,

490 Confort may ris and hardiment,
That gerris men cum to thair entent.
And on the sammyn wis it did her;
Thair comfort and thair hardy cher
Confortit thame so gretumly,

495 That of thar host the lest hardy Be countinans, wald formast be For till begin the gret melle.

How with a hundred the Earl Murray To eight hundred battle gave.

A PON this wis the nobill King
Gaf all his men reconforting,
500 Throu hardy countynans and cher
That he maid on sa gud maner.
Thame thoucht that na myscheif mycht be
Sa gret with that him mycht se

Befor thame, that suld swa engreiff,
505 That na hys worschip suld thame releif.
His worschip thame confortit swa,
And contenans that he can ma,
That the mast coward wes hardy.
On athir half, full stalwardly,

As yhe haf herd me forouth say,
Com with thair battalis approchand,
The banerys to the wynd waffand.
And quhen thai cummyn war so neir,

That bot twa myle betuix thaim wer,
Thai chesit ane gud cumpany
Of men that wicht war and hardy,
On fair courseris armyt at rycht:
Thre banrentis of full mekill mycht

520 War capitanys of all that rout:
The lord Clyffurd, that wes so stout,
Wes of thame all soverane ledeir,
Aucht hundreth armyt, I trow, thai weir.
Thai war all yhong men and joly,

525 And yharnand till do chevelry;
The best of all the host war thai
Off contenans and of aray:
Thai war the farast cumpany
That men mycht find of sa mony.

530 To the castell thai thoucht to fair:
For, gif that thai mycht weill cum thair,
Thai thoucht it suld reskewit be.
Furth on thair way held this menyhe,
And toward Strevilling tuk the way.

535 The New Park all eschewit thai, For thai wist weill the King wes thair; Beneth the New Park can thai fair,

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<sup>519.</sup> E Four lordys off.

<sup>527.</sup> C Be.

<sup>537.</sup> C And beneth, but S drops the And. E And newth. H And beneath.

Quhill neuth the kirk, in-till a rout. The Erll Thomas, that wes so stout, 540 Quhen he saw thame swa tak the playne, In gret hye went he thame agane With fif hundreth, forouten ma, Anoyit in his hert and wa That that so fer war passit by. 545 For the King had said hym roydly, That ane rose of his chaplet Wes faldyn; for, quhar he wes set To kep the way, thai men war past. Tharfor he hastit hym so fast 550 That cummyn in schort tyme wes he To the playn feld with his menyhe. For he thought that he suld amend That he trespassit had, or than end. And guhen the Inglis men him saw 555 Cum on, forouten dreid or aw, And tak sa hardely the playne, In hy thai sped thame him agane, And strak with spuris the stedis stith, That bar thame evyn hard and swith. 560 And quhen the Erll saw that menyhe Cum so stoutly, till his said he; "Beis nocht abasit for thair schor, "Bot settis speris yhow befor, "And bak to bak set all yhour rout "And all the speris poyntis out;

And as he bad thame thai haf done;
And the tothir come alsoyne.

570 Before thame all thair com prikand
A knycht, hardy of hert and hand;
He wes a weill gret lord at hame,
Schir Wilyhame Dencort wes his name;
He prekit on thame so hardely,

575 And thai him met so sturdely,

"Swagat defend us best may we, "Enveronyt with thame gif we be."

538. E Weill newth. 547. E fallen.

That he and hors war born all doune And slayne rycht thair for-out ransoune. With Inglis men gretly wes he Menyt that day, and his bountee.

580 The layffe com on thame sturdely;
Bot nane of thame so hardely
Ruschit emang thame as did he.
Bot with fer mair maturite,
Thai assemblit all in ane rout,

585 And enveronyt thame all about, Assalyheand thame on ilka syde. And thai with speris woundis wyde Gaf to the hors that com thame neir: And thai that rydand on thame weir,

590 That doune war born, lossit the lyvis.
And mony speris, dartis and knyvis,
And wapnys apon seir maneir,
Kest emang thame that fechtand weir,
That thame defendit so wittandly

595 That thair fayis had gret ferly.

For sum wald schut out of thar rout,
And of thame that assalyheit about,
Stryk stedis, and ber doune men.
The Inglis men so roydly then

600 Kest emang thame swerdis and mas, That inwith thame ane montane was Of wapnys, that war warpit thair. The Erll and his thus fechtand war At gret myscheiff, as I yhow say;

605 For quhenar, be full fer, war thai
Than thair fayis, and all about
Enveronyt war, quhar mony a rout
War roucht, and full dyspitfully—
Thair fayis demanit thaim rycht stratly.

610 On athir half thai war so stad,
For the rycht gret heit that thai had
Of fechting and of sonnys het,
That all thair flesche of swat wes wete.
And sic ane stew rais owth thame then
615 Of aynding, bath of hors and men,

And of powdir, that sic myrknes In-till the ayr abovyn thame wes, That it wes woundir for till se: Thai war in gret perplexite.

620 Bot with gret travale nocht-for-thi
Thai thame defendit manfully,
And set bath will and strenth and mycht
Till rusch thair fais in that ficht,
That than demanit thame angrely.

625 Bot gif God help thame hastely, Thai sall thar fill haf of fechtyng!

## How good James of Douglas asked of King Robert the Bruce Leave to go to support Earl Thomas Randolph.

Bot quhen the nobill renownyt Kyng, With othir lordis that war hym by, Saw how the Erll abaundonly

630 Tuk the playn feld, James of Douglas Come to the Kyng richt quhar he was, And said; "A Schir! Sanct Mary! "The Erll of Murreff oppynly

"Takis the playne feld with his menyhe.

635 "He is in perell bot giff he be "Soyne helpit, for his fayis ar ma "Than he, and horssit weill alsua.

"And, with yhour leif, I will me speid To help him, for that he has neid;

640 "All enveronyt with fayis is he."

The King said; 'Sa our Lord me se,
 'A fut till hym thou sall nocht ga.
 'Giff he weill dois, let him weill ta.
 'Quhethir him happin to win or los,

645 'Î will nocht for him brek purpos.'
"Certis," he said, "I will no wis
"Se that his fayis him suppris,

"Quhen that I may set help thar-till." With yhour leiff, sekirly I will

650 "Help hym, or de in-to the payne."
'Do than, and speid the soyn agane,

The King said: and he held his way.
Gyff he may cum in tyme, perfay,
I trow he sall hym help so weill,
655 That of his fayis sum sall it feill!

## BOOK XII.

How the King slew Sir Henry Boune, With his handaxe, and struck him down.

Now Douglas furth his wayis tais,
And in that self tyme fell, throu cas,
That the Kyng of Ingland, quhen he
Wes cummyn with his gret menyhe
Neir to the place, as I said air,
Quhar Scottis men arayit war,
He gert arest all his battale
At othir als to tak consale,
Quhethir thai wald herbery thame that nycht,
of than, but mair, ga to the ficht.
The vaward, that wist no kyn thing

The vaward, that wist no kyn thing
Of this arest na thair duelling,
Raid to the Park all straucht thar way,
Forout styntyng, in gude aray.

15 And quhen the Kyng wist at thai weir In haill battale cummand so neir, His battale gert he weill aray. He raid apon ane gray palfray, Litill and joly, arayande

20 His battall, with ane ax in hande; And on his basnet hye he bar Ane hat off quyrbolle ay-quhar, And thar-upon, in-to taknyng, Ane hye croune, that he wes ane kyng.

25 And quhen Glowcister and Herfurd wer, With thair battalis, approchand ner,

655, It in E H. C omits (S), 18. C ane gay. E a litill, H. a gray (S), 25. C omits quhen (S).

Befor thame all thar com rydand, With helme on hed and sper in hand, Schir Henry of Boune, the worthy,

30 That wes ane gud knycht and hardy, And to the Erll of Herfurd cosyne, Armyt in armys gude and fyne; Com on a steid, a merk-schote neir Before all other that thair wer,

35 And knew the King, for that he saw Hym swa araynge his men on raw, And be the croun that wes set Abovin his hed on the basnet; And toward him he went in hy.

40 And quhen the Kyng so apertly Saw hym cum forrouth all his feris, In hy till hym his hors he steris; And quhen Schir Henry saw the Kyng Cum on for-outen abaysyng,

45 Till him he raid in full gret hy. He thought that he suld weill lightly Wyn him, and haf hym at his will, Sen he hym horsit saw so ill. Than sprent thai sammyn in-till a lyng;

50 Schir Henry myssit the nobill Kyng; And he, that in his sterapis stude, With ax that wes bath hard and gude With so gret mayn rought hym ane dynt, That nouthir hat no helm mycht stynt

55 The hevy dusche that he him gaf, That he the hed till harnys claf. The hand-ax-schaft frushcit in twa, And he doune till the erd can ga All flatlyngis, for hym falyheit mycht:

60 This wes the first strak of the ficht That wes perfornest douchtely. And quhen the Kingis men so stoutly Saw him, richt at the first metyng, For-outen dout or abaysing,

33. E H bow-schote.

57. C ruschit (S).

65 Have slayn ane knycht swa at ane strak, Sic hardyment than can thai tak, That thai com on richt hardely. Quhen Inglis men saw thame stoutly Cum on, thai had gret abaysyng;

70 And specialy, for that the Kyng
So smertly that gud knycht had slayne;
Than thai with-drew thaim evir-ilkane,
And durst nocht than abyde to ficht,
Sa dred thai the Kyngis mycht.

And quhen the Kyngis men thame saw Swa in haill battale thame withdraw, A gret schot till thame can thai mak, And thai in hy tuk all the bak, And thai, that followit thame, has slayne
Sum of thame that thai haf our-tane. Bot thai war few, forsuth to say; Thar hors fete had ner all away. Bot, how sa quheyn deit thair, Rebotyt fellely thai war,

85 And raid thair gait with weill mair schame, Be full fer, than thai com fra hame.

WHEN at the King reparit was,
That gert his men leif all the chas,
The lordis of his cumpany
90 Blamyt him, as thai durst, gretly,
That he hym put in aventure
To mete so stith a knycht and sture,
In sic poynt as he than wes seyn;
For thai said, weill it mycht haf beyne
95 Caus of thair tynsale evirilkane.
The King thame answer maid he nane,
Bot menyt his hand-ax-schaft, that swa
Wes with ane strak brokyn in twa.

The Erll Thomas wes yheit fechtand 100 With fayis apon athyr hand,

87. C wes (S),

And slew of thame ane quantite, Bot wery war his men and he. The-quhethir with wapnys sturdely Thai thame defendit manfully,

105 Quhill that the lord Dowglas come neir, That sped hyme apon gret maneir. The Inglis men, that war fechtand, Quhen that the Douglas saw at hand, Thai wayndist and maid ane opnyng.

110 Schir James Dowglas, be thair relyng, Knew at thai war discumfit neir: Than bad he thame that with him weir Stand still, and pres no forthirmar; "For thai that yhondir fechtand ar,"

115 He said, "ar of sa gret bounte,

"That thair fayis weill soyn sall be "Discumfit throu thair awn mycht,

"Though no man help thaim for to fight.

"And cum we now in-to fechting,

120 "Ouhen thai ar at discumfyting, "Men suld say we thame ruschit had,

"And swa suld thai, that caus has mad "With gret travaill and hard fechting,

"Leis ane part of thair lovyng.

"And it war syn to leis his prys,

"That of sa soverane bounte is, "That he, throu playn and hard fechting,

"Has heir eschewit unlikly thing; "He sall haf that he wonnyn has."

130 The Erll with thame that fechtand was, Quhen he his fayis saw brawll swa, In hy apon thame can he ga, And pressit thame so woundir fast With hard strakis, quhill, at the last,

135 Thai fled and durst nocht byde no mar. Bath men and horse slayn left thai thar, And held thair way in full gret hy, Nocht all to-gidder bot syndrely,

119. C For (S). And E H. 121. E fruschit. 134. C sad (S). E H hard. And that that war ourtane war slayne.

Off thair tynsall sary and wa.
The Erll, that had hym helpit swa,
And his men als that war wery,
Hynt of thair basnetis in-till hy

Till avent thame, for thai war hat, Thai war all helit in-to swat. Thame semyt men forsuth, I hicht, That had fayndit thair fayis in ficht; And swa thai did full douchtely.

That fand of all thair cumpany
That thar wes bot ane yheman slayn,
Than lovit thai God and war full fayn,
And blith that thai eschapit swa.
Toward the King than can thai ga,

155 And till him soyne weill cumin ar.
He askit thame of thair weill-fair,
And gladsum cher to thame he maid,
For thai so weill than born thame had.
Than all ran in-to gret dantee

160 The Erll of Murreff for till se; For his hye worschip and valour All yharnit till do him honour. So fast thai ran till se hym thair, That neir all sammyn assemblit war.

And quhen the gud King can thaim se Befor him swa assemblit be,
Blith and glad that thair fayis war
Sa reboytit, as said wes ar,
A litill quhil he held him still,
Syne on this wis he said thame till.

"LORDYNGIS," he said, "we aucht to luf "Almychty God that sittis abuf, "That sendis us so fair begynnyng.

"It is ane gret disconfortyng
Till our fais, that on this wis

"Sa soyn reboytit has beyn twis.

168. E Rabutyt apon sic maner. H similarly.

" For guhen thai of thair host sall heir,

"And knaw suthly on quhat maneir

"Thair avaward, that wes so stout,

180 "And syne yhon othir joly rout,

"That I trow of the best men war

"That thai mycht get emang thame thar,

"War reboytit so suddandly,

"I trow, and knawis it all cleirly,

185 "That mony ane hert sall waverand be

"That semyt ere of gret bounte.

"And fra the hert be discumfite,

"The body is nocht worth a myt. "Thar-for I trow that gud ending

190 "Sall follow till our begynnyng.

"The-quhethir I say nocht this yhow till,

"For that yhe suld follow my will

"To ficht, for in yhow sall all be.

"For gif yhe think spedfull that we 195 "Fecht, we sall ficht; and gif yhe will,

"We leiff, yhour liking to fulfill.

"I shall consent on alkyn wis

"Till do richt as yhe will devis;

"Tharfor sais on yhour will planly."

200 Than with ane voce all can thai cry;

'Gud King, forouten mair delay,

'To-morn als soyn as yhe se day,

'Ordane yhow haill for the battale,

'For dout of ded we sall nocht fale;

205 'Na nane payn sall refusit be

'Quhill we have maid our cuntre fre!'

OWHEN the King herd thaim so manly Spek to the ficht and hardely, In hert gret gladschip can he ta, 210 And said; "Lordyngis, sen yhe will sa,

206. C Till (S).

\*209. Saying that nouther life nor dead To sik discomfort sould them lead That they sould eschew the feghting. "Schapis us tharfor in the mornyng

\*212 "Swa that we, be the sonne-rysing

"Haf herd mes, and be buskit weill "Ilk man in-till his awne vscheill,

"Without the palyhownys arayit

"In battales with baneris displayit.

"And luk yhe na way brek aray;

"And, as yhe luf me, I yhow pray

"That ilk man for his awne honour 220 "Purvay hym a gud baneour.

"And quhen it cummys to the ficht,

"Ilk man set his hert and mycht

"To stynt our fais mekill pryd.

"On hors that sall arayit ryd,

"And cum on yhow in weill gret hy;

"Meit thame with speris hardely, "And wreik on thame the mekill ill

"That thai and tharis has done us till,

"And ar in will yheit for till do,

230 "Gif thai haf mycht till cum thar-to.

"And, certis, me think weill that we,

"Forout abasyng, aucht till be

"Worthy and of gret vassalage;

"For we have thre gret avantage.

"The first is, that we haf the richt;

"And for the richt ay God will ficht.

"The tothir is, thai ar cummyn heir "For lypnyng in thair gret power,

"To seik us in our awne land;

240 "And has brought her, right till our hand,

"Riches in-to so gret plentee,

"That the pouerest of yhow sall be "Bath rych, and mychty thar-with-all,

"Gif that we wyn, as weill may fall.

\*212. In heart he had great rejoycing.

These lines in H only, not in C E. They do not fit into the text. Line \*212 is a doublet of 209.

214. C yscheill (S). 216. C battale (S). E bataillis.

234. C ilk man suld (S). E H ay God will.

245 "The thrid is, that we for our lyvis

"And for our childer and our wyvis, "And for the fredome of our land,

"Ar strenyheit in battale for to stand.

"And thai for thair mycht anerly,

250 "And for thai leit of us lichtly,

"And for that left of us henry,

"And for that wald distroy us all,

" Mais thame to ficht: bot yhet ma fall

"That thai sall rew thar barganyng.

"And, certis, I warne yhow of a thing,

255 "That happyn thame (as God forbeid).

"Till fynd fantis in-till our deid, "Swa that thai wyn us opynly,

"Thai sall haf of us no mercy.

"And, sen we knaw thar felloune will,

260 "Me think it suld accorde till skill

"To set stoutnes agane felony,

"And mak swagat ane juperdy.
"Quharfor I yhow requeir and pray,

"That, with all mycht that evir yhe may,

265 "Yhe pres yhow at the begynnyng,

"But cowardis or abaysing,

"To meit thame that first sall assemmyll

"So stoutly that the henmast trymmyll.

"And menys on yhour gret manheid, 270 "Yhour worschip, and yhour douchty deid,

"And of the joy that yhe abyd,

"Giff that us fallis, as weill may tyd,

"Hap to vencus the gret battale.

"In-till yhour handis, forouten faill

275 "Yhe ber honour, pris, and riches,

"Fredome, welth, and gret blithnes,

"Gif yhe conteyn yhow manfully;

"And the contrar all halely

"Sall fall, gif yhe let cowardis

280 "And wikkidness yhour hertis surpris.

246. C wifis (S).

255. C To (S). E. That. H Gif.

256. E That dept on roid for mankyn heid. H For to prevaile into this steed.

"Yhe mycht haf lifit in-to thrildome,

"Bot, for yhe yharnyt till haf fredome,

"Yhe ar assemblit heir with me; "Tharfor is neidful that yhe be

285 "Worthy and wicht but abaysing.

"I warne yhow weill yheit of a thing,

"That mair myscheif may fall us nane

"Than in thair handis to be tane:

" For thai suld slay us, I wat weill,

200 "Richt as thai did my brothir Neill.

"Bot quhen I meyn of yhour stoutnes,

" And on the mony gret prowes "That yhe have done so worthely,

" I trast and trowis sekirly

295 "Till have playne victor in this ficht.

" For thouch our fayis have mekill mycht,

"Thai haf the wrang, and succudry

"And covatis of senyhory

"Amovis thame forouten mor.

300 "Na us thar dreid thame bot befor;

"For strynth of this place, as yhe se,

"Sall let us enveronyt to be.

"And I pray yhow als specialy, "Both mor and les all comonly,

305 "That nane of yhow for gredynes

" Haf e till tak of thair riches,

"Na presoners yheit for till ta,

"Quhill yhe se thame cumrayit swa,

"That the feld planly ouris be.

310 "And than, at yhour liking, may yhe

"Tak all the riches that thar is.

"Gif yhe will wirk apon this wis,

"Yhe sall haf victor sekirly.

"I wat nocht quhat mar say sall I;

315 "Yhe wat weill all quhat honour is,

"Conteyn yhow tharfor on sic wis

"That yhour honour ay savit be.

"And I hecht heir, in my lawte, "Gif ony deis in this battaill,

320 "His air, but ward, releif, or taill,

"On the first day his land sall weild,

"All be he nevir so yhoung of eild.

"Now makis yhow reddy till the ficht. "God help us, that is mast of mycht!

- 325 "I red armyt all nycht yhe be,
  "Purvait in battale, sa that we
  "To meit our fais ay be boune."
  Than ansuerd thai all with a sowne,
  'As yhe devis sa sall be done.'
- 330 Than till thair innys went thai soyne, And ordanit thame for the fichting; Syne assemblit in the evynnyng, And swa-gat all the nycht baid thai Till on the morn that it wes day.
- 335 OWHEN the Cliffurd, as I sayd air,
  And thar gret vaward alsua
  Wes distrenyheit the bak till ta,
  And thai haf tald thair reboyting,
- 340 Thai of the vaward, how the King Slew at a strak, sa apertly, A knycht that wycht wes and hardy; And how all haill the Kyngis battaill Schupe thame richt stoutly till assaill,
- 345 And Schir Edward the Brus alsua, Quhen thai all haill the bak can ta: And how thai lessit off thair men: And Cliffurd had tald alsua then, How Thomas Randall tuk the playne
- 350 With few folk, and how he has slayne Schir Wilyhame Dancort the worthy; And how the Erll faucht manfully, That, as ane hyrcheoune, all his rout Gert set out speris all about;
- And how at thai war put agane,
  And part of thair gud men wes slane:
  The Inglis men sic abaysing
  Tuk, and sik dreid of that tithing,
  - 342. C The best knycht of thair chevelry (S). H as E.

That in fyve hundreth placis and ma 360 Men mycht thame sammyn se rownand ga, Sayand; "Our lordis, for thar mycht, "Will all-gat ficht agane the richt. "Bot quha sa warrayis wrangwisly, "Thai faynd God all too gretumly, 365 "And thai may happin to mysfall; "And sa may tyd that her we sall." And quhen thir lordis had persaving Of the discomford, and the rownyng, That thai held sammyn twa and twa, 370 Throu-out the hoost soyne gert thai ga Heraldis, for till mak ane crye, That nane discomford suld it be; For in punyheis is oft hapnyne Quhill for to wyne, and quhill to tyne; 375 And that, in to the gret battale, That apon na maner may fale; Bot, gif the Scottis flee away, Sall all amendit be, perfay. Tharfor thai monyst thame to be 380 Of gret worschip and of bounte, And stithly in the battale stand, And tak amendis at thair hand. Thai may weill monyss as thai will, And thai may als hecht till fulfill 385 With stalwart strakis thair byddingis all; Bot nocht-for-thi I trow thai sall In-till thair hertis dredande be. The King, with his consell preve, Has tane to rede that he wald nocht 390 Fecht or the morne, bot he war socht. Thair thai herbryit thame that nycht Doune in the Kers, and gert all dicht, And mak reddy ther apparale,

Agane the morne for the battale.
395 And, for in the Kers pulis war,
Howsis and thak thai brak, and bar

371. C Herrodis (S). Cf. Language: l. 395. C For in the Kers pollis ther war (S).

To mak bryggis quhar thai mycht pas.
And sum sais yheit, the folk that wes
In the castell, quhen nycht can fall,
400 For at thai knew thair myscheiff all,
Thai went furth neir all at thai war,
And durys and wyndowis with thaim bar,
Swa that thai had befor the day
Briggit the pollis, swa that thai
War passit our evir-ilkane,

\*406 And the hard feld on hors has tane

\*407 All reddy for till gif battale, Arayit in till thair apparaill.

#### The Battle of Bannockburn.

THE Scottis men, quhen it wes day,
Thair mes devotly herd thai say,
Syne tuk a sop, and maid thame yhar.
And in their battalis all purvait

And in thair battalis all purvait, With thair braid baneris all displayit, Thai maid knychtis, as it afferis To men that oysis thai mysteris.

415 The Kyng maid Walter Stewart knycht, And James of Douglas, that wes wicht, And othir als of gret bounte He maid, ilkane in thair degre. Ouhen this wes done, that I yhou say,

420 Thai went all furth in gud aray,
And tuk the playne full apertly.
Mony wicht man, gud and hardy,
That wer fulfillit of gret bounte,
In-till thair rowtis men mycht se.

The Inglis men in othir party,
That richt as angelis schane brichtly,
War nocht arayit on sic maner;
For all thair batalis sammyn wer
In a schiltrum; bot quhethir it wes

430 Throu the gret stratnes of the plas 397. C Ta mak (S), where ta is clearly a slip. For 405 E has ilkane all hale. \*406, \*407. Not in E, but in C and H. That that war in, till byd fichting, Or that it wes for abaysing, I wat nocht; bot in a schiltrum It sempt that war all and some,

- 435 Outane the vaward anerly, That with ane richt gret cumpany Be thame-selvin arayit war. Quha had bene by mycht have sene thar That folk ourtak ane mekill feld
- 440 On breid; guhar mony a schynand scheld, And mony a burnyst bricht armour, And mony man of gret valour, And mony a baner bricht and scheyne, Micht in that gret schiltrum be seyne.
- And guhen the Kyng of Ingland Saw Scottis men saw tak on hand To tak the hard feild sa opynly, And apon fut, he had ferly,

And said, "Quhat! will yhon Scottis ficht?" 450 'Yhaa sekirly, Schir!' than said a knycht, Schir Ingerame the Umphrevell hat he,

And said, 'Forsuth, Schir, now I se

'All the mast ferlifull sycht

'That evir I saw, quhen for to ficht

- 455 'The Scottis men has tane on hand, 'Agane the gret mycht of Ingland,
  - 'In plane hard feild to gif battale.
  - 'Bot and yhe will trow my consale, 'Yhe sall discomfit thame lichtly.
- 460 'Withdraws yhow hyne suddanly,
  - 'With battalis, baneris and pennownys,
  - 'Quhill that we pas our palyheownys;
  - 'And yhe sall se als soyne at thai,
- 'Magre thair lordis, sall brek aray, 465 'And scale thame our harnes to ta.
  - 'And, guhen we se thame scalit swa,

431. C war rad (S).

438-9. C And till the battale maid thame yhar (S). H as in E.

447. C So plainly (S).

460. C Yhe sall withdraw (S); so too in H. E as in text.

'Prik we than on thame hardely, 'And we sall haf thame weill lichtly. 'For than sall nane be knyt to ficht, 470 'That may withstand our mekill mycht.' "I will nocht," said the King, "perfay, "Do sa: for ther sall no man say, "That I suld eschewe the battale, "Na withdraw me for sic rangale." 475 Quhen this wes said that er said I, The Scottis men full devotly Knelyt all doune, till God to pray, And a schort prayer thair maid thai Till God, till help thame in that ficht. 480 And quhen the Inglis King had sicht Of thame kneland, he said in hy-"Yhon folk knelis till ask mercy." Schir Ingerame said; 'Yhe say suth now; 'Thai ask mercy, bot nocht at yhow: 485 'For thair trespas to God thai cry. 'I tell yhow a thing sekirly, 'That yhon men will wyn all or de, 'For dout of ded thar sall nane fle.' "Now be it swa," than said the Kyng. 490 And than, but langar delaying, Thai gert trump up to the assemble. On athir syd than men mycht se

495 THUS war thai boune on athir syde;
And Inglis men, with mekill prid,
That war in-till thar avaward,
Till the battall that Schir Edward
Governyt and led, held straucht thair way.

Full mony wycht men and worthy,

All ready till do chevelry.

500 The hors with spuris hardnyt thai, And prikit apon thame sturdely; And thai met thame richt hardely:

473. E sall.
490. C We sall it so but delaying (S). E H as in text.

Swa that, at the assemble thair,
Sic a frusching of speris wair
505 That fer away men mycht it her.
At thar metyng, for outen wer,
Wer stedis stekit mony ane;
Mony gud man borne doune and slane,
And mony ane hardyment douchtely

510 Wes thair eschevit full hardely.
Thai dang on othir with wapnys ser;
Sum of the hors, that stekit wer,
Ruschit and relit rycht roydly.
Bot the remanant, nocht-for-thi,

515 That mycht cum to the assembling,
For that lat maid rycht no stynting,
Bot assemblit full hardely.
And thai met thame full sturdely,
With speris that wer scharp to scher,

520 And axis that weill grundyn wer, Quhar-with wes roucht full mony rout. The ficht wes thair so fell and stout, That mony worthy men and wicht Throu fors wes fellit in that ficht,

525 That had no mycht to rys agane.

The Scottis men fast can thame payne
Thair fais mekill mycht to rus.

I trow thai sall no payne refus,
Na perell, quhill thar fais be
530 Set in-till herd proplexite.

AND quhen the Erll of Murref sa Thair avaward saw stoutly ta The way to Schir Edward all straucht, That met thame with full mekill maucht.

He held his way with his baner
Till the gret rout, quhar sammyn wer
The nyne battales that wes so braid,
That so feill baneris with thame had,
And of men sa gret quantite,
That it war wonder for to se.

527. E frusch. H frush.

The gud Erll thiddir tuk the way With his battale in gud aray, And assemblit so hardely, That men mycht her, that had beyn by,

545 A gret frusche of the speres that brast.

For thair fais assalyheit fast,
That on stedis, with mekill prid,
Com prikand as thai wald our-ryd

Com prikand as that wald our-ry. The Erll and all his cumpany.

550 Bot thai met thame so sturdely,
That mony of thame till erd thai bar.
For mony a steid wes stekit thar,
And mony gud man fellit undir feit
That had no power to ris yheit.

555 Ther men mycht se ane hard battale,
And sum defend and sum assale,
And mony a riall rymmyll ryde
Be roucht thair, apon athir syde,
Quhill throu the byrneis brist the blud,
560 That till the erd doune stremand yhud.

560 That till the erd doune stremand yhu
The Erll of Murreff and his men
So stoutly thame contenit then,
That thai wan plas ay mair and mair
On thair fais; the-quhethir thai war

565 Ay ten for ane, or ma, perfay;
Swa that it semyt weill that thai
War tynt emang so gret menyhe,
As thai war plungit in the se.
And quhen the Inglis men has seyne

570 The Erll and all his men be-deyne
Fecht sa stoutly, but effraying,
Rycht as thai had nane abaysing,
Thai pressit thame with all thar mycht.
And thai, with speris and suerdis brycht,

575 And axis that rycht scharply schar, In-myd the visage met thame thar. Thar men mycht se a stalwart stour, And mony men of gret valour With speris, macys, and with knyvis, 580 And othyr wapnys, vissill thair lyvis, Swa that mony fell doune all ded; The gyrs wox with the blude all red. The Erll, that wicht wes and worthy, And his men faucht so manfully,

585 That quha sa had seyne thaim that day, I trow forsuth that thai suld say That thai suld do thair devour wele, Swa that thair fayis suld it feill.

#### BOOK XIII.

How Walter Stewart and Douglas Came with their battle that worthy was.

OWHEN that thir twa first batellis wer Assemblit, as I said yhow er, The Steward, Walter that than was, And the gud lord als of Douglas, In a battale quhen that thai saw The Erll, for outen dreid or aw,

Assemmyll with his cumpany On all the folk so sturdely, For till help him that held thar way

You with that battale in gud aray, And assemmyllit so hardely Besyd the Erll a litill by, Thair fais feld thair cummyng weill; For with wapnys stalwart of steill

15 Thai dang on thame with all thar mycht. Thar fayis resavit them weill, I hycht, With swerdis, speris, and with macys. The battale thair so felloune was, And sua richt gret spilling of blud,

20 That on the erd the flus it stud. The Scottis men so weill thame bar, And sua gret slauchtir maid thai thar,

3, 4. C wes . . . Dougles (S).

And fra so feill the livis revit, That all the feild wes bludy levit. 25 That tym thir three battalis wer All syde be syde fechtand weill neir. Thar mycht man her richt mony dynt, And wapnys apon armour stynt, And see tummyll knychtis and stedis, 30 With mony rich and ryoll wedis Defoulit roydly under feit. Sum held on loft, sum tynt the suet. A long quhill thus fechtand thai wer, That men no noyis na cry mycht her; 35 Men hard nocht ellis bot granys and dyntis That slew fire, as men dois on flyntis. Sa faucht thai ilkane egirly, That thai maid nouthir novis no cry, Bot dang on other at that mycht, 40 With wapnys that war burnyst brycht. The arrows als so thik that flaw, That thai mycht say weill, at thaim saw, That thai ane hydwis schour can ma: For quhar thai fell, I undirta, 45 Thai left eftir thame taknyng

The Inglis archeris schot so fast,
That, mycht thar schot haf had last,
It had beyne hard to Scottis men.
50 Bot King Robert, that weill can ken
That the archeris war perelous,
And thar schot hard and richt grevous,
Ordanit forrouth the assemble
His Marschall with a gret menyhe,
55 Fiff hundreth armyt weill in steill
That on licht hors war horsyt weill,
For to prik emang the archeris,
And sua assailyhe thame with speris
That thai no laser haf to schute.

60 This Marschall that I of mut,

That sall neid, as I trow, lechyng.

That Schir Robert of Keth wes cald, As I befor has to yhow tald, Quhen that he saw the battalis swa Assemmyll and to-giddir ga,

65 And saw the archeris schut stoutly,
With all thame of his cumpany
In hy apon thame can he ryde,
And our-tuk thame at a syde,
And rushit emang thame sa roydly,

70 Strikand thame sua dispitfully, And in sic fusioune berand doune, And slayand thame without ransoune, That thai thame scalit evirilkane; And fra that time furth ther wes nane

75 That assemlit sic schot till ma.

Quhen Scottis archeris saw at swa
Thai war rebutit, thai wox hardy,
With all thar mycht schot egirly
Emang the hors-men that thar raid,

80 And woundis wyde to thame thai maid, And slew of thame a wele gret dele; Thai bar thame hardely and weill. For fra thair fais archeris were Scalit, as I have said yhow ere,

85 That ma than thai war be gret thing, Swa that thai dred nocht thar schuting, Thai wox so hardy that thame thought Thai suld set all thair fais at nought.

THE Marschall and his cumpany
Wes yheit, as to yhow ere said I,
Amang the archeris, quhar thai maid
With speris rowme quhar at thai raid,
And slew all that thai mycht ourta.
And thai weill lichtly mycht do swa,
55 For thai had nocht a strak to stynt,
Na for to hald agane a dynt.
And agane armyt men to ficht
May nakit men haff litill mycht.

Thai scalit thame on sic maner,
That sum to thar gret battelis wer
Withdrawin thaim in full gret hy,
And sum war fled all utrely.
Bot the folk that behynd thame was,
That for thair awne folk had no space
To Yheit than to cum to the assemblyng,

In agane smertly can thai ding
The archeris, that thai met fleand,
That than war maid so recryand,
That thair hertis war tynt cleirly,

The Scottis men with schot that day.
And the gud King Robert, that ay
Was fillit of full gret bounte,
Saw how that his battellis thre

And so weill in the ficht thame bar,
And so fast on thair fais can dyng
That him thoucht nane had abaysing,
And how the archeris war scalit then,

120 He was all blith, and till his men He said; "Lordingis, now luk that yhe "Worthy and of gud covyne be "At this assemble, and hardy;

"And assemble, and nardy

"And assemble so sturdely

"Our men so freschly ar fechtand,

"That thai thair fais has cumrait swa

"That, be that presit, I undirta,

"A litill fastar, yhe sall se

130 "That thai discumfit soyn sall be."

Quhen this wes said, thai held thar way, And on a syde assemblit thai

109. E tynt clenly.

116. C That so (S).

127. E grathyt sua. H cumbred.

<sup>\*131</sup> Now ga we on them sa hardely, And ding on them sa doughtely,

So stoutly, that at thar cummyng Thair fais wer ruschit a gret thing.

Ther men mycht se men freschly ficht,
And men that worthy war and wycht
Do mony worthy vassalage;
Thai faucht as thai war in a rage.
For quhen the Scottis ynkirly

Saw thair fais sa sturdely
Stand in-to battale thame agane,
With all thar mycht and all thar mayne
Thai layd on, as men out of wit;
And quhar thai with full strak mycht hit,

Thar mycht no armyng stynt thar strak;
Thai to-fruschit thame thai mycht our-tak,
And with axis sic duschis gaff
That thai helmys and hedis claff.
And thair fais richt hardely

Too Met thame, and dang on douchtely
With wapnys that war stith of steill:
Thar wes the battell strikyn weill.
So gret dynnyng ther wes of dyntis,
As wapnys apon armor styntis,

155 And of speris so gret bristing, And sic thrawing and sic thristing,

That they may feele, at our comming,
That we them hate in meekle thing:

\*135 For great cause they have us made,
That occupied our landis brade,
And put all to subjectioun:
Your goodis made all theirs commoun:
Our kyn and frendis, for their aume,

\*140 Dispitteously hanged and drawne:
And wald destroy us gif they might.
Bot, I trou, God, through his foresight,
This day hes granted us his grace

\*144 To wrek us on them in this place.

<sup>\*131-\*144.</sup> From H: not in C E. These remarks seem quite out of place. The spirit of animosity is not in harmony with the tenour of Bruce's other speeches; the language at certain points is not Barbour-like; and the whole passage is thus of questionable authenticity. See Preface, pp. vii-viii.

144. C For quhar (S).

Sic gyrnyng, granyng, and so gret A noyis, as thai can othir bet, And cryit ensenyheis on everilk syd,

160 Gifand and takand woundis wyd, That it wes hydwiss for till her All four the bataillis wicht that wer Fechtand in-till a front haly. Almychty God! how douchtely

165 Schir Edward the Brus and his men Amang thair fais contenyt thame then! Fechtand in-to sa gud covyne, So hardy, worthy and so fyne, That thar avaward ruschit was,

170 And, magre tharis, left the plas, And to thar gret rowt to warrand Thai went, that than had apon hand So gret not, that thai war effrait, For Scottis men thame hard assait,

175 That than war in ane schiltrum all.

Quha hapnit in that ficht to fall,

I trow agane he suld nocht ris.

Ther men mycht se on mony wis

Hardyment eschevit douchtely,

180 And mony that wicht war and hardy Doune under feit lyand all dede, Quhar all the feild of blud wes red. Armoris and quyntis that thai bare, With blud wes swa defowlit thar,

185 That thai mycht nocht discrivit be.

A! mychty God! quha than mycht se
The Steward, Walter, and his rout
And the gud Douglas that wes stout
Fechtand in to that stalward stour,

Thai war worthy, that in that ficht
Sa fast presit thair fais mycht,
That thai thame ruschit quhar thai yheid.

r64. C full douchtely (S). E H how, in accord with the exclamatory phrase.

183 E quhytys. H coates. (See note.)

Thair mycht men se mony a steid
195 Fleand on stray, that lord had nane.
A! Lord! quha than gud tent had tane
To the gud Erll off Murreff
And his, that swa gret rowtis gaf,
And faucht sa fast in that battale.

Tholand sic payne and sic travale,
That thai and thairis maid sic debat,
That quhar thai come thai maid thaim gat.
Than mycht men heir ensenyheis cry,
And Scottis men cry hardely,

205 "On thame! On thame! Thai fail!"
With that so hard thai can assaill,
And slew all that thai mycht our-ta.
And the Scottis archeris alsua
Schot emang thame so sturdely,

210 Ingrevand thame so gretumly,
That quhat for thame that with thame faucht
And swa gret rowtis to thame raucht,
And presit thame full egirly;
And quhat for arrowes that felly

215 Mony gret woundis can thame ma, And slew fast of thair hors alsua, That thai wayndist a litell we; Thai dred so gretly thane till de That thair covyne wes war than eir:

220 For thai that with thame fechtand weir, Set hardyment and strynth and will And hart and corage als, thar-till, And all thair mayne, and all thar mycht, To put thame fully to the flycht.

# How the Yeomen and the Poor Men made of Sheets the Manner of Banners in Support of King Robert the Bruce and his Folk.

In this tyme that I tell of her,
That the battall on this maner
Wes strikin, quhar on athir party
Thai war fechtand richt manfully,

Yhemen, swanys, and poueraill, 230 That in the Parc to yheyme vittale

War left; quhen thai wist but lesing That thair lordis, with fell fichtyng, On thair fais assemblit war,

Ane of them-selvyne that wes than

235 Capitane of thame all thai maid; And schetis, that war sum-deill braid, Thai festnyt in steid of baneris Apon lang treis and on speris, And said that that wald se the ficht.

240 And help thar lordis at thar mycht. Quhen her-till all assentit war, And in a rowt assemblit ar, Fiften thousand that war and ma. And than in gret hy thai can ga

245 With thair baneris all in a rout, As thai had men beyn stith and stout. Thai com, with all that assemble, Richt quhill thai mycht the battale se; Than all at anys that gaf ane cry,

250 "Sla! sla! Apon thaim hastily!" And thar-with all cumand ar thai: Bot thai war yheit weill fer away, And Inglis men, that ruschit war Throu fors of ficht, as I said air,

255 Quhen thai saw cum with sic a cry Toward thame sic ane cumpany, That that thought weill als mony war As at war fechtand with thame thar, And thai befor had thame nocht seyne,

260 Than, wit yhe weill, withouten weyne, Thai war abasit so gretumly, That the best and the mast hardy That war in-till the oost that day,

Wald with thair mensk have beyn away.

265 The King Robert be thair relyng, Saw thai war neir discomfyting,

250. C Apon thame ! on thame hardely ! (S). H as in E.

And his ensenyhe can hely cry.
Than, with thame of his cumpany,
His fais presit so fast that thai
270 Wer than in-till sa gret effray,
That thai left place ay mar and mar.
For all the Scottis men that war thar,
Quhen thai saw thame eschew the ficht,

Dang on thame swa with all thar mycht,
That thai scalit in tropellis ser,
And till discumfitur war ner;
And sum of thame fled all planly.
Bot thai that wicht war and hardy,
That schame letit till ta the flicht,

280 At gret myschef mantemyt the ficht, And stithly in the stour can stand. And quhen the King of Ingland Saw his men fle in syndry place, And saw his fais rout, that was

285 Worthyn so wicht and so hardy,
That all his folk war halely
Swa stonayit, that thai had no mycht
To stynt thair fais in the ficht,
He was abaysit so gretumly

290 That he and all his cumpany,
Fif hundreth armyt weill at rycht,
In-till a frusche all tuk the flycht,
And till the castell held ther way.
And yheit, as I herd sum men say,

295 That of Vallanch Schir Amer, Quhen he the feld saw vencust ner, By the renyhe led away the King, Agane his will, fra the fichting.

And quhen Schir Gelis de Argente 300 Saw the King thus and his menyhe Schape thame to fle so spedely, He com richt to the King in hy And said; "Schir, sen that it is swa "That yhe thusgat yhour gat will ga,

299. E the Argente.

305 "Haffis gud day! for agane will I:

"Yheit fled I nevir sekirly,
"And I cheis heir to byde and de

"Than till lif heir and schamfully fle."

" His brydill than but mar abaid

310 He turnyt, and agane he raid,
And on Schir Edward the Brusis rout,
That wes so sturdy and so stout,
As dreid of nakyn thing had he,
He prikit, cryand, "Argente!"

And thai with speris swa him met, And swa feill speris on hym set, That he and hors war chargit swa That bath doune to the erd can ga: And in that place than slayne wes he.

320 Of his ded wes rycht gret pite.
He wes the thrid best knycht, perfay,
That men wist liffand in his day:
He did mony a fair journe.

On Sarisenis thre derenyheis did he;

325 And in-till ilk derenyhe of thai, He vencust Sarisenis twa; His gret worschip tuk thar ending. And fra Schir Amer with the King Wes fled, wes nane that durst abyde,

330 Bot fled, scalit on ilka syde.
And thair fais thame presit fast,
Thai war, to say suth, all agast,
And fled swa, richt effrayitly,
That of thame a full gret party

335 Fled to the wattir of Forth; and thar The mast part of thame drownit war. And Bannokburn, betuix the brais, Of hors and men so chargit was, That apon drownit hors and men

340 Men mycht pass dry atour it then. And laddis, swanys, and rangall, Quhen thai saw vencust the battall,

308. E Than for to lyve schamly, and fley. 311. C Brysis (S); y too in 165.

Ran emang thame, and swa can sla
Thai folk that na defens mycht ma,
That it war pite for to se.
I herd nevir quhar, in na cuntre,
Folk at swa gret myschef war stad;
On a syde thai thair fais had,

That slew thame downe without mercy,

350 And thai had on the tothir party
Bannokburne, that sa cummyrsum was
Of slyk and depnes, for till pas,
That thair mycht nane atour it ryde.
Thame worthit, magre tharis, abyde;

355 Swa that sum slayne, sum drownit war; Micht nane eschap that evir com thar. The-quhethir mony gat away, That ellis-whar fled, as I herd say.

The Kyng, with thame he with him had, 360 In a rout till the castell raid,
And wald have beyn tharin, for thai
Wist nocht quhat gat to get away.
Bot Philip the Mowbray said him till,
"The castell, Schir, is at yhour will;
365 "Bot, cum yhe in it, yhe sall se

"That yhe sall soyne assegit be.
"And thar sall nane of all Ingland

"To mak yhow rescours tak on hand. "And, but rescours, may no castele

370 "Be haldin lang, yhe wat this wele.
"Tharfor confort yhow, and relye
"Your men about yhow richt straitlye,
"And haldis about the Park the way.

"Knyt yhow als sadly as yhe may, "For I trow that nane sall haf mycht,

"That chassis, with so feill to ficht."
And as he consalit that have done;
Beneth the castell went that soyne,
Richt by the Rownde Tabill thair way,

380 And syne the Park enveronyt thai,

377. E And his consaill.

And toward Lithkew held in hy.
But, I trow, thai sall hastely
Be convoyit with folk that thai,
I trow, mycht suffer weill away!

385 For Schir James, lord of Douglas,
Com till his Kyng and askit the chas,
And he gaf him leif but abaid.
Bot all to few of hors he hade;
He had nocht in his rowt sexty,

390 The-quhethir he sped him hastely
The way eftir the King to ta.
Now let him on his wayis ga,
And eftir this we sall weill tell
Quhat till hym in his chas byfell.

### How Good Douglas chased the King of England after the Battles of Bannockburn.

Qwhen the gret battell on this wis
Wes discumfit, as I devis,
Quhar thretty thousand thar wes ded,
Or drownit in-to that ilk sted;
And sum war in-to handis tane;
400 And othir sum thair gat wes gane;
The Erll of Herfurd fra the melle
Departit, with a gret menyhe.
And straucht to Bothwell tuk the vay,
That than at Inglis mennys fay
405 Wes, and haldin as place of wer.

Schir Walter Gilbertson wes ther Capitane, and it had in ward. The Erl of Herfurde thiddirward Held, and wes tane in our the wall,

And fyfty of his men with-all,
And sett in housis syndrely,
Swa that thai had thar no mastry.
The layff went toward Ingland.
Bot of that rout, I tak on hand,

406. C Gilbertstoune (S), but see note.

415 The thre parteis war tane or slayne:
The layff with gret payne hame ar gane.

Schir Moris alsua de Berclay Fra the gret battell held his way, With a gret rout of Walis men;

- 420 Quhar-evir thai yheid men mycht tham ken; For thai weill neir all nakid war, Or lynyng clothis had but mair. Thai held thair wayis in full gret hy; Bot mony of thair cumpany,
- 425 Or thai till Ingland com, war tane, And mony als of thame war slane. Thai fled als othir wais ser, Bot to the castell, that wes ner, Of Strevilling fled sic a menyhe,
- 430 That it wes wonder for to se;
  For the craggis all helit war
  About the castell, heir and thar,
  Of thame that, for strinth of that sted,
  Thiddirward till warrande fled.
- 435 And for thai war sa feill that thair Flede under the castell war,
  The King Robert, that wes witty,
  Held ay his gude men neir him by,
  For dreid that ris againe suld thai.
- 440 This was the caus, forsuth to say, Quhar-throu the King of Ingland Eschapit hame in-to his land.

Of Inglis men, that nane abad,

- 445 The Scottis men soyne tuk in hand Of tharis all that evir thai fand,
- \*447 As silver, gold, clathis, and armyng, With vessel and all other thing That evir thai mycht lay on thar hand;
- \*450 So gret a riches thair thai fand,
  That mony man wes mychty maid
  Of the riches that thai thar had.
- 417. E H the Berclay. \*447-\*450. In C H. Not in E.

Quhen this wes done that ere said I, 450 The King send a gret cumpany Up to the crag, thame till assale That war fled fra the gret battale;

And thai thame yhald for-out debat, And in hand has thame tane fut-hat,

455 Syne to the Kyng thai went thar way.
Thai dispendit haly that day
In spoulyheing and riches taking,
Fra end wes maid of the fechting.
And quhen thai nakit spulyheit war

460 That war slayne in the battale thar,
It was forsuth a gret ferly
Till se sammyn so feill dede ly.
Twa hundreth payr of spuris rede
War tane of knychtis that war dede.

465 The Erll of Glowcister ded wes thar, That men callit Schir Gilbert of Clar; And Schir Gelis de Argente alsua, And Payne Typtot, and othir ma,

That thair namys nocht tell can I.

470 And apon Scottis mennis party

Thar wes slayne worthy knychtis twa;
Wilyhame Vepownt wes ane of tha,
And Schir Walter the Ros ane othir,
That Schir Edward, the Kyngis brothir,

475 Lufit, and held in sic dante
That as him-self him lufit he.
And quhen he wist that he wes dede,
He wes so wa and will of rede,
That he said, makand full evill cher,

480 That him war levar that journye wer Undone, than he swa ded had bene. Outaken him, men has nocht seyn Quhar he for ony man maid menyng; And the caus wes of his lufing,

485 That he his sistir paramouris Lufit, and held all at rebouris

464. C Sevin hundreth paris (S). Twa E H. 485. C That he (S).

His awyne wif dame Esobell. And tharfor swa gret distans fell Betwix him and the Erll Davy 490 Of Adell, brother to this lady, That he, apon Sanct Johnnis nycht, Quhen bath the Kyngis war boune to ficht, In Cambuskynneth the Kyngis vittale He tuk, and sadly gert assale 495 Schir Wilyham of Herth, and him slew,

And with hym ma men than enew. Quharfor syne in-till Ingland He wes banyst, and all his land Was sesit and forfalt to the Kyng, 500 That did tharof syne his likyng.

WHEN the feld, as I said air, Wes dispulyheit and left all bair, The King and all his cumpany Joyfull and blyth war and mery 505 Of the grace that thame fallyn was, Towards thar innys thair wayis tais Till rest thame; for thai wery war. Bot for the Erll Gilbert of Clar, That slayne wes in the battale-place, 510 The king somdeill anoyit was, For till hym neir syb wes he. Than till a kirk he gert hym be Brocht, and walkit all that nycht.

515 The king rais, as his wille was; Than till ane Inglis knycht, throu cas, Hapnyt that he yheid waverand, Swa that na man laid on hym hand, And in a busk hyd his armyng,

And on the morn, quhen day wes licht,

520 And waytit quhill he saw the Kyng In the mornyng cum forth airly: Till him than is he went in hy.

490. EH Athole. 495. E Keth. H Airth. 516. C wille wes (S).

493. E Camyskynnell.

Schir Marmeduk the Twengue he hecht. He rakit till the Kyng all richt,

525 And halsit hym apon his kne.

"Welcome, Schir Marmeduk," said he,
"Tui quhat man art thou presoner?"
'To nane,' he said, 'bot till yhow her
'I yheld me at yhour will to be.'

530 "And I resaiff the, Schir," saide he.
Than gert he trete hym curtasly.
He dwelt lang in his cumpany:
And syne in Ingland him send he
Arayit weill, but ransoune fre,

535 And gaf hym gret giftis thar-to;
A worthy man that wald swa do
Micht mak him gretly for to pris.
Quhen Marmeduk, apon this wis,
Wes yholden, as I to yhow say,

540 Than com Schir Philip the Mowbray, And to the king yhald the castele; His cunnand has he haldyne wele, And with him tretit swa the King, That he become of his duellyng;

545 And held him lelely his fay
Quhill the last end of his lyf-day.

OW will we of the Lord Dowglas Tell, how that he followit the chas.

He had quheyne in his cumpany, 550 Bot he sped him in full gret hy, And as he by the Torwode fur, Sa met he, rydand on the mur Schir Lowrens of Abyrnethy, That, with four scor in cumpany,

555 Com for till help the Inglis men, For he was Inglis man yheit then. Bot quhen that he herd how it wes, He left the Inglis mennys pes, And till the lord Douglas richt thar

560 For till be leill and trew he swar;

523. C Marmadak Betung (S), but see note.

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And than thai bath followit the chas.
And, or the Kyng of Ingland was
Passit Lythkew, thai com so neir,
With all the folk that with thame wer,

565 That weill emang thame schut thai mycht;
Bot thai thoucht thame our few to ficht
With the gret rowt that thai had thar,
For fif hundreth men armyt thai war.
To-giddir sarraly raid thai,

570 And held thame apon brydill ay.
Thai war governit full wittely;
For it semit ay thai war redy
For till defend thame at thar mycht,
Gif thai assalyheit war in ficht.

575 And the lord Douglas and his men
Thoucht thai wald nocht purpos then
For to ficht with thame all planly,
He convoyit thame so narrowly,
That of the henmast ay tuk he:

580 Micht nane behynd his fallowis be Nocht a stane cast, bot he in hy Wes ded, or tane delyverly, That nane rescours wald till hym ma, All-thouch he lufit hym nevir swa.

585 On this wis thame convoyit he, Quhill at the Kyng and his menyhe To Wynchburch all cummyne ar. Than lichtit thai, all that war thar, Till bayt thar hors that war wery;

590 Then Douglas and his cumpany
Baytit alsua besyde thame neir.
Thai war so feill, withouten weir,
And in armys so clenly dicht,
And swa arayit ay to ficht,

595 And he so quheyne and but gadering; That he wald nocht in playne fichting, Assaill thaim; bot ay raid thame by, Waytand his poynt ay ythandly. A litill quhile thai baitit thar,
600 And syne lap on, and furth thai fair;
And he wes alwais by thame neir;
He leit thame nocht haf sic laseir
As anys wattir for to ma;
And gif ony stad war swa,

605 That behynd war left ony space, Sesit all soyne in hand he was. Thai convoit thame apon this wis, Quhill that the King and his rout is Cummyn to the castell of Dunbar,

610 Quhar he and sum of his men war Resavit richt weill; for yheit than The Erll Patrik wes Inglis man, That gert with met and drink alsua Refresche thame weill, and syne gert ta

615 A bate, and send the King by se,
Till Balmeburch in his awne cuntre.
Thair hors thar left thai all on stray,
Bot sesit wele soyne I trow war thai:
The laiff, that levit war without,

620 Adressit thame in-till ane rout,
And till Berwik helde straucht the way
In rout; bot, and we suth sall say,
Thai levit of thair rout party,
Or thai come thar; bot nocht for-thi,

625 Thai come till Berwik weill; and thar In-till the toune resavit war; Ellis at gret myscheiff had thai beyne. And quhen the lord Douglas has seyne That he had lesit thar his payne,

630 Toward the King he went agane.

THE Kyng eschapit on this wis.

Lo! quhat falding in fortoune is!

That quhile apon a man will smyle,

And prik him syne ane othir quhile.

635 In na tyme stabilly can sche stande.

635 In na tyme stabilly can sche stande.
This mychty Kyng of Ingland

616. E Bawmburgh.

623. E Stad thai war full narrowly.

Scho had set on her quheill on hight, Quhen, with so ferlifull a mycht, Of men of armys and archeris,

640 And of fute men and hobleris, He com rydand out of his land, As I befor has borne on hand. And in a nycht syne and a day, Scho set hym in so hard assay,

645 That he, with sevintene, in a bat, Wes fayne for to hald hame his gat! Bot of this ilk quhelis turnyng Kyng Robert suld mak no murnyng; For on his syd the quheyle on hycht

650 Raiss, guhen the tothyr down gan lycht. \*651 For twa contraris yhe may wit wele,

\*Set agane othir on a quhele; \*Quhen ane is hye, the tothir is law, \*And gif it fall that fortoune thraw \*The quheill about, it that on hicht

\*656 Was ere, on force it most doune lycht; And it, that wondir lawch were ere, Mon lowp on loft in the contrere. So fure it of thir Kyngis twa; Quhen that King Robert stad wes sua,

655 That in his gret myscheiff wes he, The tothir wes in his majeste. And quhen the Kyng Edwardis mycht Wes lawit, Kyng Robert lap on hicht:

And now sic fortoune fell hym till, 660 That he wes hye and at his will.

> At Strevilling wes he yheit lyand; And the gret lordis that he fand

EH in. 643. C on (S).

645. E H with few men.

649, 650. C-

For his syde, throu the quhele on hicht, Vencust thar fais, wes mekill of mycht.

H as in E.

\*651-\*656. In C H. Not in E. Similar rhymes occur just before and at end.

654, 655. C two-so (S); two only here. Text from E.

Ded in the felde, he gert berye In haly placis honorabilly;

665 And the laiff syne that dede war thar
In-to gret pittes erdit war.
The castell and the towrys syne
Richt to the grund doune gert he myne,
And syne to Bothwell send has he

670 Schyr Edward with a gret menyhe;
For thar wes fra thine send him worde
That the riche Erll of Herfurde,
And othir mychty als, wes thar.
Soyne tretit he with Schir Waltar,

675 That Erle and castell and the laiff
In-to Schir Edwardis hand he gaf.
And to the King the Erll send he,
That gert him richt weill yhemyt be,
Quhill at the last thai tretit swa

680 That he till Ingland hame suld ga
Without paying of ransoune, fre;
And that for hym suld changit be
Bischop Robert, that blynd wes maid,
With the queyne, that thai takin had

685 In presoune, as befor said I,
And hyr douchtir dame Marjory.
The Erll wes changit for thir thre;
And, quhen they cummyn hame war fre,
The Kyngis douchter, that wes fair,

690 And wes als his apperand air,
With Walter Stewart can he wed;
And thai weill soyne gat of thar bed
Ane knaiff child, throu our Lordis grace,
That eftir his gude eld-fadir was

695 Callit Robert, and syne wes King, And had the land in governyng, Eftir his worthy eyme, Davy, That regnyt twa yher and fourty; And in tyme of the compyling

700 Of this buk, this Robert wes Kyng. And of his kynrik passit was Fif yheir; and wes the yher of grace Ane thousand thre hundreth and sevinty And fif, and of his elde sexty.

705 And that wes aftir that the gud King, Robert, wes brocht till his ending, Sex and fourty wyntir but mar. God grant that thai, that cummyne ar, Of his ofspring, maynteyme the land,

710 And hald the folk weill to warrand; And manteyme rycht and ek laute, As weill as in his tyme did he!

KYNG Robert now wes weill at hycht, For ilk day than grew mair his mycht.

715 His men war rich, and his cuntre Aboundanit weill of corne and fee, And of alkynd othir riches: Myrth, solas and ek blithnes Wes in the land all comonly,

720 For ilk man blith wes and joly. The King, eftir the gret journee, Throu consell of his folk preve, In seir townys gert cry on hicht, That quha so clamyt to haf richt

725 To hald in Scotland land or fe,
That in that tuelf moneth suld he
Cum and clayme it; and tharfor do
To the King that pertenyt thar-to.
And gif that come nocht in that yher,

730 Than suld thai wit, withouten weir,
That herd thar-eftir nane suld be.
The King, that wes of gret bounte
And besynes, quhen this wes done,
Ane hoost gert summond eftir sone,

735 And went syne soyne in-till Ingland,
And our-raid all Northumbirland,
And brynt hous, and tuk the pray,
And syne went hame agane thar way.
I let it shortly pass for-by;

740 For thair wes done na chevelry

707 C H Six; E v.

Provit, that is till spek of heir. The King went oft on this maneir In Ingland, for till riche his men, That in riches aboundanit then.

#### BOOK XIV.

How the Earl of Carrick passed into Ireland to win it, and with him Earl Thomas Randolph and Sir Philip the Mowbray, Sir John Stewart, Sir John Soulis, and Ramsay of Ochterhouse.

THE Erll of Carrik, Schir Edward, That stowtar wes than ane libbard, And had no will till be in pes, Thought that Scotland to litill wes

- 5 Till his brothir and him alsua; Tharfor till purpos can he ta, That he of Irland wald be kyng. Tharfor he send and had treting With the Erischry of Irland,
- That in thar lawte tuk on hand
  Of Irland for to mak hym king,
  With-thi that he with hard fechting
  Micht our-cum the Inglis men,
  That in the land war wonnand then;
- 15 And thai suld help with all thair mycht. And he, that hard thame mak sic hicht, In-till his hert had gret liking: And, with the consent of the King, Gaderit hym men of gret bounte,
- 20 And at Air syne schippit he,
  In-till the next moneth of Maii;
  Till Irland held he straucht his way.
  He had thair in his cumpany
  The Erll Thomas that wes worthy,
- 25 And good Schir Philip the Mowbray, That sekir wes in herd assay; Schir Johne the Sowlis, a gude knycht, And Schir Johne Steward that wes wicht;

The Ramsay als of Ouchtirhous, 30 That wes richt wicht and chevelrous; And Schir Fergus de Ardrossane, And othir knychtis mony ane.

In Wokingis Fyrth arivit thai Saufly, but bargane or assay,

35 And send thair schippis home ilkane.
A gret thing have thai undertane,
That with sa quheyne as thai war thar,
That wes sex thousand men but mar,
Schupe for to warray all Irland,

40 Quhar thai sall se mony thousand Cum armyt on thame for to ficht.

Bot thouch thai quheyne war, thai war wicht, And, for-outen dreid or effray,
In twa battelis thai tuk the way

45 Toward Cragfergus it to se.
Bot the lordis of that cuntre,
Maundwell, Byset, and Logane,
Thar men assemblit evirilkane;
The Savagis wes alsua thair.

50 And quhen thai all assemblit war, Thai war weill neir tuenty thousand. Quhen thai wist that in-till thar land Sic a menyhe arivit war, With all the folk that thai had thar

55 Thai went toward thame in gret hy.
And fra Schir Edward wist suthly
That neir till him cumand war thai,
His men he gert richt weill aray.
The vaward had the Erll Thomas,

60 And in the rerward Schir Edward was.

## The first battle that Sir Edward Won in Ireland, with fighting hard.

Thar fais approchit to the fichting, And thai met thame but abaysing. Thar mycht men se a gret melle for Erll Thomas and his menyhe

65 Dang on thair fais sa douchtely,
That in schort tym men mycht se ly
Ane hundreth that all bludy war.
For hobynis, that war stekit thar,
Rerit, and flang, and gret rowme maid,

70 And kest thame that apon thame raid. And Schir Edwardis cumpany Assemblit syne so hardely That thai thar fais ruschit all. Quha hapnyt in that ficht to fall,

75 It wes perell of his risyng.
The Scottis men in that fechting
Swa apertly and weille thame bar,
That thair fayis swa ruschit war,
That thai haly the flicht has tane.

80 In that battale wes tane or slane
All hale the flour of Ullister.
The Erll of Murreff gret pris had ther;
For his richt worthy chevelry
Confortit all his cumpany.

85 That wes a full fair begynnyng; For, newlyngis at thair arivyng, In playne ficht thai discomfit thar Thar fais, that ay fowr for ane war. Syne to Cragfergus ar thai gane,

90 And in the toune has innys tane. The castell wele wes stuffit then Of-new with vittale and with men; Thar-till thai set ane sege in hy. Mony ysche full apertly

95 Wes maid, quhill that the sege lay, Quhill trewis at the last tuk thai.

### The Withletting of the Pass of Endnellan

Ouhen that the folk of Ullister
Till his pes haly cummyn wer,
For Schir Edward wald tak on hand
100 Till ryde forthirmar in the land,

Thair come till hym and maide fewte Sum of the kyngis of that cuntre, Weill ten or tuelf, as I herd say: Bot thai held hym schort quhile thar fay. 105 For twa of thame, ane Makfulchiane, And ane othir hat Makartane,

And ane othir hat Makartane,
With-set ane place in-till his way,
Quhar him behufit neyd away,
With twa thousand of men with speris,

110 And als mony of thair archeris; And all the cattale of the land War drawin thidder to warrand. Men callis that place Endwillane: In all Irland strater is nane.

Thai thought he suld nocht that away.

Bot he his viage soyne has tane,

And straucht toward the plas is gane.

The Erll of Murreff, Schir Thomas,

That put hym ay first till assayis,
Lichtit on fut, with his menyhe,
And apertly the plas tuk he.
Thir Erische kyngis I spak of ar,
With al the folk that with thame war,

125 Met him richt sturdely; bot he Assalyheit swa with his menyhe, That, magre thairis, thai wan the plas: Slayne of thair fayis fele thar was. Throu-out the wod thame chasit thai,

130 And sesit in sic fusione thar pray, That all the folk of thar host war Refreschit weill ane owk or mair.

At Kilsaggart Schir Edward lay;
And thar weill soyne he has herd say,
That at Dundawk wes ane assemble
Maid of the lordis of that cuntre;
In host thai war assemblit thar.
Thar wes first Schir Richard of Clare,

That in all Irland luf-tenand
140 Was off the King of Ingland.
The Erll of Desmownt als wes thar,
And the Erll alsua of Kyldare;
The Bremayne with the Wardoune;
Thir war lordis of gret renoune.

145 The Butler alsua thair was,
And Schir Moris le Fyss-Thomas.
Thir with thair men ar cummyn thar,
A rycht gret hoost forsuth thai war.
And quhen Schir Edward wist suthly

150 That thar wes sic ane chevelry, His host in hy he gert aray, And thiddirwardis he tuk the way; And neir the toune he tuk herbery. Bot for he wyst all utirly

155 That in the toune wes mony men, His battalis he arrayit then, And stude arayit in battale To kep thame, gif thai wald assale.

And quhen that Schir Richard of Clare, 160 And othir lordis that war thare, Wist at the Scottis men so neir With thar battellis than cummyne weir, Thai tuk to consell at that nycht, For it wes layt, thai wald nocht ficht:

165 Bot on the morne in the mornyng, Weill soyn eftir the sone-rysing, Thai suld ysch furth all that war thair; Therfor that nycht thai did no mair: Bot herbreyt thame on athir party.

170 That nycht the Scottis cumpany
War wachit rycht weill, all at richt;
And on the morn, quhen day wes licht,
In twa battellis thai thame arayit;
Thai stude with baneris all displayit,

175 For the battell all reddy boune.

And that that war within the toune,

148. C thair wes (S).

Quhen sone wes rysyn schynand clere, Send furth of thame that within were Fifty, till se the contenyng

180 Of Scottis men and thar cummyng. And thai raid furth and saw thaim soyne, Syne come agane forouten hoyne. And quhen thai sammyn lichtit war, Thai tald thair lordis that wes thar,

185 That Scottis men semyt to be
Worthye and of full gret bounte,
"Bot that ar nocht, withouten wer,
"Half-deill ane dyner till us here!"
The lordis had of this tithyng

190 Gret joy and gret reconforting; And gert men throu the cité cry That all suld arme thame hastely.

Quhen thai war armyt and purvayit, And for to ficht all haill arayit,

195 Than went thai furth in gude aray; Soyn with thair fayis assemblit thai, That kepit thame richt hardely. The stour begouth thair cruelly; For athir part set all thair mycht

200 Till rusche thair fayis in the ficht;
And with all mycht on other dang.
The stalward stour lestit weill lang,
That men mycht nocht persave, no se,
Quha mast at thar abovin mycht be.

205 For fra soyn eftir the sone-rysyng,
Quhill eftir mydmorne, the fichting
Lestit in-till sic ane dout;
Bot than Schir Edward, that wes stout,
With all thame of his cumpany,

210 Schot apon thame so sturdely,
That thai mycht thole no mar the ficht.
All in a frusche thai tuk the flicht,
And thai followit full egirly:
In-to the toune all comonly

178. C that with him (S).

Thai enterit bath intermelle.

Thair mycht men felloune slauchtir se;

For the richt nobil Erll Thomas,

That with his rout followit the chas,

Maid sic a slauchtir in the toune,

220 And swa felloune occisioune,
That the rewis all bludy war
Of slayne men that war liand thar.
The lords war gottin all away.
And quhen the toune, as I yhow say,

225 Wes throu gret fors of fechting tane, And all thair fayis fled or slane, Thai herbryit thame all in the toune, Quhar of vittale was sic fusione, And swa gret aboundans of wyne,

That the gud Erll had gret dowtyne
That of thair men suld dronken be,
And mak in drunkynnes sum melle.
Tharfor he maid of wyne lufre
Till ilk man, that he payit suld be;

235 And thai had all yneuch, perfay.

That nycht rycht weill at eis war thai,
And richt blith of the gret honour
That thame befell for thair valour.

## The third battle in Ireland That good Sir Edward took on hand.

E FTIR this ficht thai sojornyt thair,
In-to Dundawk, thre dayis and mar;
Syne tuk thai southwardis thar way.
The Erll Thomas wes forrouth ay.
And, as thai raid throu the cuntre,
Thai mycht apon the hillis se

245 Sa mony men, it wes ferly.
And quhen the Erll wald sturdely
Dress him to thame with his baner,
Thai wald fle all that evir thai wer,
Swa that in ficht nocht ane abaid.
250 And thai southwardis thair wais raid,

Quhill till a gret forest come thai; Kilros it hat, as I herd say: And thai tuk all thar herbiry thair. In all this tyme Richard of Clare, That wes the Kyngis luf-tenand, Of all of the barnage of Irland

Of all of the barnage of Irland A gret hoost he assemblit had. Thai war fyve bataillis, gret and braid, That soucht Schir Edward and his men;

260 Weill neir him war thai cummyn then.
He gat soyne wittyng that thai weir
Cumand on him, and war so neir.
His men addressit he thame agane,
And gert thame stoutly tak the plane;

And Schir Philip the Mowbra send he, And Schir Johne Steward went alsua, Furth till discovir thair way thai ta. Thai saw the host cum soyne at hand;

270 Thai war, to ges, fiffty thousand.
Haym to Schir Edward raid thai then,
And said weill thai war mony men.
He said agane, "The ma thai be,

"The mair honour allout have we, 275 "Gif that we beir us manfully.

"We are set heir in juperdy
"Till wyn honour, or for till de.
"We ar fra hayme to fer to fley,

"Tharfor let ilk man worthy be. 280 "Yhone ar gadering of the cuntre;

"And thai sall fle, I trow, lichtly, "And men assail thaim manfully." All said thai than, thai weill suld do. With that approchand neir thame to,

285 The battellis come, reddy to ficht;
And thai met thame with mekill mycht,
That war ten thousand worthy men.
The Scottis all on fut war then,
And thai on state trappit weill,

290 Sum helyt all in irne and steill.

Bot Scottis men, at thair metyng, With speris perssit thar armyng, And stekit hors, and men doune bar. Ane felloune fechting wes than thair.

295 I can nocht tell thair strakis all,
Na quha in ficht gert othir fall;
Bot in schort tyme, I undirta,
Thai of Irland war cummyrrit swa
That thai durst nane abyde no mar,

300 Bot fled scalit, all that thai war,
And levit in the battell-stede
Weill mony of thar gud men ded.
Of wapnys, armyng, and ded men
The feld wes haly strewit then.

305 That gret hoost roydly ruschit wes; Bot Schir Edward leit no man chas; Bot with presoners, that thai had tane, Thai till the wod agane ar gane, Quhar that thair harnes levit wer.

310 That nycht thai maid thame mery cher, And lovit God fast of his grace. This gud knycht, that so worthy was, Till Judas, Machabeus that hicht, Micht liknyt weill be in that ficht;

315 Na multitud he forsuk of men, Quhill he hade ane aganis ten.

THUS, as I said, Richard of Clare
And his gret hoost rebutit war.
Bot he about him nocht-for-thi
320 Wes gaderand men ay ythandly:
For he thoucht yheit to covir his cast.
It angerit him richt ferly fast,
That twis in-to battell wes he
Discumfit with ane few menyhe.
325 And Scottis men, that in the forest
War ryddin, for till tak thair rest,
All thai twa nychtis thair thai lay,
And maid thame myrth, solace, and play.

Toward Odymsy syne that rayde, 330 Ane Erische kyng, that ayth had mayd Till Schir Edwarde of fewte. For forrouth that him prayit he To se his land, and na vittale, Na nocht that mycht him help, suld fale.

335 Schir Edward trowit in his hicht, And with his rout raid thiddir richt. A gret revar he gert hym pas; And in a richt fair place, that was Lawch by a brym, he gert thame ta

340 Thair herbry, and said he wald ga To ger men vittale to thame bring. He held his way but mair duelling: For till betrais thame wes his thoucht. In sic ane place he has thame brought,

345 Quhar of journeis weill twa and mair All the cattell withdrawin war. Swa that thai in that land mycht get No thing that worth war for to et. With hungyr he thought thaim to feblis,

350 Syne bring on thame thair enymys.

This fals tratour his men had maid, A litell owth quhar he herbryit hade Schir Edward and the Scottis men, The ysche of a louch to den;

355 And leit it out in-to the nycht. The wattir than, with sic a mycht, On Schir Edwardis men come doune, That that in perell war till droune; For, or that wist, on flot war that;

360 With mekill payne that gat away, And held thar livis, as God gaf gras, Bot of thair harnes tynt ther was. He maid thame na gud fest, perfay, And nocht-for-thi yneuch had thai.

365 For though thame failit of the met, I warne yhow weill thai war weill wet.

330. E bourne. H burne.

In gret distres thair war thai stad, For gret defalt of mete thai had; For thai betuix thai riveris tway

370 War set, and mycht pas nane of thai.
The Bane, that is ane arme of se,
That with hors may nocht passit be,
Wes betuix thame and Ullister.
Thai had beyn in grett perell ther,

375 Ne war ane scummar of the se,
Thomas of Dun hattyn wes he,
Herd that the host so stratly than
Wes stad, and salyt up the Ban,
Quhill he com weill neir quhar thai lay.

380 Thai knew him weill, and blith war thai.
Than, with four schippes that he had tane,
He set thame our the Ban ilkane.
And quhen thai come in biggit land,
Vittale and mete yneuch thai fand:

385 And in a wode thame herbryit thai. Nane of the land wist quhar thai lay; Thai esyt thame and maid gud cher.

In-till that tyme, besyde thame ner,
With a gret host, Richarde of Clar,
390 And othir gret of Irlande, war
Herbryit in-till a forest syde.
And ilke day thai gert men ryde
To bring vittalis, on ser maneris,
Till thame fra the toune of Coigneris,
395 That weill ten gret myle wes thaim fra.
Ilk day, as thai wald cum and ga,
Thai come the Scottis host so ner,
That bot twa myle betuix thaim wer.

How Sir Thomas of Randell Won from the Irish their Vittell.

And quhen Erll Thomas had persaving 400 Of thair come and thair gaderyng,

376. E Downe. H Dun:

He gat him a gud cumpany, Thre hundreth on hors, wycht and hardy. Thar wes Schir Philip the Mowbray, And Sir Johne Stewart als, perfay,

With Schir Alane Stewart alsua, Schir Robert Boyde, and other ma. Thai raid till meit the vittelleris, That with ther vittale fra Coigneris Com, haldand to the host the way.

410 So suddanly on thame schot thai, That thai war sa abaysit all, That thai leit all thair wapnys fall, And mercy pitwysly can cry. And thai tuk thame in thair mercy,

415 And has thame up so clenly tane, That of thame all eschapit nane.

> The Erll of thame gat wittering That of thair host, in the evynnyng, Wald cum out at the woddis syde

420 And aganis thair vittale ryde.
He thought than on a juperdy,
And gert his menyhe halely
Dicht thame in the presoners aray;
Thair pennownys als with thame tuk thai.

And quhill the nycht wes neir thai baid,
And syne toward the host thai raid.
Sum of thair mekill host has seyne
Thair come, and wende weill thai had beyne
Thair vittelouris; tharfor thai raid

430 Agane thame scalit, for thai hade
Na dreid that thai thair fayis wer;
And thame hungerit alsua weill sair;
Tharfor thai come abandonly.

And quhen thai neir war, in gret hy
435 The Erll, and all that with him war,
Ruschit on thame with wapnys bar,
And thair ensenyheis hye can cry;
Than thai, that saw so sudandly

406. E H Robert. C Gilbert.

Thair fayis dyng on thame, wes rad,
440 That thai no hert till help thame had;
Bot to thar host the way can ta;
And thai chasit, and feill can sla,
That all the feldis strowit war;
Ma than ane thowsand ded wes thar.
445 Rycht to thar hoost thai can thame chass,
And syne agane thair wayis tais.

ON this wiss wes the vittal tane, And of the Erysche men mony slane. The Erll syne, with his cumpany, Presoners and vittalis halely

450 Presoners and vittalis halely
Has brocht till Schir Edward als swith;
And he wes of thair cummyng blith.
That nycht thai maid thame merye cher;
Richt all than at thair eis thai wer.

455 Thai war all wachit sekyrly,
And thair fais, on the tothir party,
Quhen thai herd how thar men was slane,
And how thar vittal all wes tane,
Thai tuk to consell at thai wald

460 Thair wayis towart Coigneris hald, And herbry in the cite ta. And in gret hye thai have done swa; And raid on nycht to the cite. Thai fand thair vittale of gret plente,

465 And maid thame merely gud cher;
For all trast in the toune thai wer.
Apon the morn thai send to spy
Quhar Scottis men had tane herbery.
Bot thai war met with all, and tane,

470 And brocht richt till the hoost agane.
The Erll of Murreff richt mekly
Sperit at ane of thar cumpany,
Quhar thar host wes, and quhat thai thoucht
Till do; and said him, gif he moucht

475 Fynd that till hym the suth said he, He suld gang hame but ransoune fre.

17-2

"Forsuth," he said, "I sall yhow say,
"Thai thynk, the morn, quhen it is day,
"To seik yhow with all thair menyhe,
"Giff thai may get wit guhar yhe be.

480 "Giff thai may get wit quhar yhe be.
"Thai haf gert throu the cuntre cry,
"On payne of liff, full felounly,

"That all the men of this cuntre

"This nycht in-to the cite be.
485 "And trewly that sall be so feill,

"That yhe sall no wis with thame deill."
'De pardew,' said he, 'weill may be!'
To Schir Edward with that yheid he,
And tald hym utrely this taill.

490 Than haf thai tane for consell haill,
That thai wald ryde to the cite
That ilk nycht, swa that thai mycht be
Betuix the toune, with all thar rout,
And thame that war the toune without.

As thai devisit swa have thai done;
Befor the toune thai come alsoyne:
And bot half deill a myle of way
Fra the cite, thar rest tuk thai.
And quhen the day wes dawin licht,

500 Fifty on hobynis, that war wicht, Com till a litill hill, that was Bot fra the toune a litill spas, And saw Schir Edwardis herbery, And of the sicht had gret ferly,

505 That sa quheyn durst on ony wis
Undertak sa hye empris,
As for till cum sa hardely
Apon all the gret chevelry
Of Irland, for till byde battale.

510 And swa it wes, forouten fale;
For agane thame war gaderit thair,
With the wardane Richard of Clar,

The Butler, with the Erllis twa, Of Desmund and Kildar war tha,

515 Bruman, Wardun, and Fiz-Waryn; And Schir Pascalle a Florentyn, That wes ane knycht o! Lumbardy, And wes full of gret chevelry.

The Maundvilis war thar alsua,

520 Besatis, Loganys, and othir ma; Savagis als; and yheit wes ane, Hat Schir Nycholl of Kylkenane. And with thir lordis so feill wes then, That, for ane of the Scottis men,

525 I trow that thai war fiff or ma.

Quhen thair discurrowris seyne has swa
The Scottis host, thai went in hy
And tald thair lordis all opynly,
How thai till thaim wer cummand ner:

530 To seik thame fer wes na myster.

And quhen the Erll Thomas had seyne
That thai men at the hill had beyne,
He tuk with him a gude menyhe,

On hors ane hundreth thai mycht be, 535 And till the hill thai tuk the way.

In a slak thame enbuschit thai:
And', in schort tyme, fra the cite
Thai saw cum rydand a menyhe,
For till discovir, to the hill.

540 Than war thai blith, and held thame still Quhill thai war cummyn to thame ner; Than in a frusche, all that thar wer, Thai schot apon thame hardely.

And thai that saw so suddandly 545 That folk cum on, abaysit war.

And nocht-for-thi sum of thame thar Abaid stoutly to mak debat; And othir sum ar fled thar gat.

And in-to weill schort tyme war thai, 550 That maid arest, cumrayit swa,

515. C Syr Waryn; but cf. xv., 75. 522. C Kyllvanane (S); but see note.

That thai fled halely thair gat; And thai thame chassit richt to the yhate, And a gret part of thame has slane, And syne went till thar host agane.

#### BOOK XV.

The fourth battle in Ireland
That Sir Edward won with strong hand.

Owhen thai within has seyn swa slane Thair men, and chassit hame agane, Thai war all wa, and in gret hy "Till armys!" hely can thai cry. 5 Than armyt thame all at thar war, And for the battale maid thame whar. Thai yschit out, all weill arayit, In battale with baneris displayit: Bowne on thar best wis till assale 10 Thair fayis in-to fell battale. And guhen Schir Philip the Mowbray Saw thame ysche in sa gud aray, Till Schir Edward the Brus went he And said, "Schir, it is gude that we 15 "Schape for sum slicht that may availl "Till help us in this gret battaill. "Our men ar quheyn, bot thai haf will "Till do mair than thai may fullfill. "Tharfor I rede, our caryage, 20 "Forouten ony man or page, "By thame-selvyne arayit be; "And thai sall seyme fer ma than we.

"Set we before thame our baneris;
"Yhon folk that cummys out of Coigneris,

25 "Quhen thai our baneris thair may se, "Sall trow trastly that thair ar we, "And thidder in gret hy sall ryde.

"Cum we than on thame at a syde,

"And we sall be at avantage; 30 "For, fra thai in our caryage "Be enterit, thai sall cummyrrit be; "And than with all our mycht may we "Lay on, and do all that we may." All as he ordanit done haf thai.

35 And thai that com out of Coigneris Adressit thame to the baneris; And smat with spures the hors in hy, Ruschand emang thame sodanly. The barell-ferraris that war thar

40 Cumrayd thame fast that rydand war.

And than the Erll, with his battale, Com on, and sadly can assale. And Schir Edward, a litill by, Assemblit swa richt hardely,

That mony fey fell under feit;
The felde wox soyne of blud all weit.
With so gret felony thar thai faucht,
And sic rowtis till othir raucht,
With stok, with stane, and with retrete,

50 As athir part can othir bet,
That it wes hidwys for to se
How thai mantemyt that gret melle
So knychtlik apon athir syde,
Giffand and takand woundis wyde,

55 That pryme wes passit, or men mycht se Quha mast at thair abovin mycht be. Bot soyne eftir that pryme wes past, The Scottis men dang on so fast, Aud schot on thame at abandoune,

60 As ilk man war a campioun,
That all thar fayis tuk the flicht.
Wes nane of thame that wes so wicht,
That evir durst abyde his fere;
Bot ilkane fled thair wayis sere.

65 Till the toune fled the mast party. And Erll Thomas sa ynkirly, And his rout, chassit with swerdis bar, That all emang thame mellit war,

34. C And (S). 54. E rowtis roid; cf. Bk. VI., 288.

- And all to-gidder come in the toune.
  Than wes the slauchter so felloune,
  That all the rewis ran of blude.
  Thame that thai gat to dede all yhude,
  Swa that than thar weill neir wes ded
  Als feill as in the battell-sted.
- 75 The Fizwaryne wes taken thar;
  Bot so rad wes Richard of Clar,
  That he held to the sowth cuntre.
  All that moneth I trow that he
  Sall haf no gret will for to ficht.

80 Schir Johne Steward, ane nobill knycht, Wes woundit throu the body thair With a sper that richt scharply schair. To the Mont-peleris went he syne, And lay thair lang in-to helyne,

85 And at the last helit wes he. Schir Edward than, with his menyhe, Tuk in the toune thair herbery. That nycht thai blith war and joly For the victory that thai had thar.

90 And on the morn, forouten mar, Schir Edward gert men gang and se All the vitalis of that cite. And thai fand sic fusioune thar-in Of corn and flour and wax and wyne,

95 That thai had of it gret ferly;
And Schir Edward gert halely
To Cragferguss it cartit be.
Syne thidder went his men and he,
And helde the sege full stalwardly,

Than, quhill the Tysday in Pask-owk, On athir half thai trowis tuk; Swa that thai mycht that haly tyd In pennance and in prayer byd.

105 Bot apon Paske evin all richt To the castell, in-till the nycht, Fra Devilling come schippis fyftene, Chargit with armit men bedeyne; Four thousand, trow I weill, thai war:

In the castell thai enterit thair.

The Mawndvell, ald Schir Thomas,
Capitane of that menyhe he was.
In the castell all prevaly

That enterit, for that that gert spy

That mony of Schir Edwardis men
War scalit in the cuntre then.
Tharfor thai thoucht in the mornyng
Till ysche, but langer delaying,
And till suppris thame suddanely;

For thai thought thai suld traistly ly,
For the trewis that taken war.
Bot I trow falsat evirmar
Sall have unfair and evill ending.
Schir Edward wist of this na thing,

125 For of tresoune had he na thoucht.
Bot for the trewis he lefit noucht
Wachis till set to the castele;
Ilk nycht he gert men wach it wele.
And Neyll Flemyng wachit that nycht

And als soyne as the day wox cleir,
Thai that within the castell weir
Had armyt thame, and maid thame boune,
And syne the bryg avaled doune,

135 And yschit in-till gret plente.
And quhen Neyll Flemyng can thaim se,
He send ane till the Kyng in hy;
And said to thame that war hym by,
"Now sall men se, I undirtak,

"Quha dar de for his lordis sak!
"Now beir yhow weill, for sekirly
"With all thir menyhe fecht will I.
"In-till bargane thame hald sall we,
"Quhill that our mastir armyt be."

And with that worde assemblit thai; Thai war to few all out, perfay, With sic a gret rout for to ficht.
Fot nocht-for-thi with al thar mycht
Thai dang on thame so hardely,
That all thair fayis had gret ferly,
That thai war all of sic manheid,
That thai no dreid had of thar dede.
Bot thar fell fayis sa can assaill,
That thar mycht no worschip availl
That thai ne war slayn evirilkane
So cleyn, that thar eschapit nane.

#### How the King of Ireland called Edward came upon the Scotsmen

And the man that went till the Kyng, For till warn hym of thair ysching, Warnit him in-till full gret hy.

Callit the Kyng of Irland,
Ouhen that he herd sic hy on hand,
In full gret hast he gat his ger.
Tuelf wicht men in his chalmer wer

That armyt thame in full gret hy.
Syne with his baneris hardely
The myddis of the toune he tais.
With that neir cummand war his fais,
That had delt all thar men in thre.

170 The Mawndvell, with a gret menyhe, Richt throu the toune his way held doune; The layff on athir syde the toune Held to meit thame that fleand war; Thai thoucht that all that thai fand thar

175 Suld de but ransoune evirilkane:
Bot othir wayis the gle is gane.
For Schir Edward, with his baner,
And his men that I tald of ere,
On all that rout so hardely

180 Assemblit, that it wes ferly. For Gib Harpar befor him yheid, That wes the douchtyest of deid That than wes liffand of his stat,
And with ane ax maid him sic gat
185 That he the first fellit to the grounde;
And eftir, in a litill stounde,
The Mawndvell be his armyng
He knew, and roucht him sic a swyng
That he till erd yheid hastely.

190 Schir Edward, that wes neir hym by,
Reversit hym and with a knuff

190 Schir Edward, that wes neir hym by, Reversit hym, and with a knyff Richt in that place him reft the liff.

With that of Ardrossane Fergus,
That wes ane knycht rycht curageous,
195 Assemblit with sexty and ma.
Thai pressit than thair fayis swa,
That thai, that saw thair lord slayne,
Tynt hert, and wald have beyn agane.
And ay, as Scottis men mycht be

200 Armyt, thai come to the melle;
And dang apon thai fayis swa,
That thai all hale the bak can ta,
And thai thame chassit to the yhat;
Thar wes hard ficht and gret debat.

205 Thar slew Schir Edward, with his hand A knycht, that of all Irland Wes callit best, and of mast bounte, To surname Mawndvell hecht he, His propir nayme I can nocht say.

War set, that that of the dungeoune
Durst oppyn no yhat, na bryg let doune.
And Schir Edward, I tak on hand,
Soucht thame that fled thar to warrand,

215 So felly, that of all, perfay,
That yschit apon hym that day,
Eschapit of thaim nevir ane,
That thai ne war outhir tane or slane.
For to the ficht Maknakill then

187. C by his (S).

- 220 Come with twa hundreth of gude sper-men, And slew all they mycht to wyn. This ilk Maknakill, with a gyn, Wan of thair schippes four or fiff, And halely reft the men thair liff.
- 225 Quhen end wes maid of this fechting, Yheit then wes liffand Neill Fleming. Schir Edward went him for to se; About him slayne lay his menyhe All in a lump, on athyr hand,
- 230 And he, redy to dey, throwand.
  Schir Edward had of him pite,
  And him full gretly menyt he,
  And regratit his gret manhede,
  And his worschyp with douchty dede.
- 235 Sic mayn he maid, thai had ferly;
  For he wes nocht custumabilly
  Wount for till meyne ony thing,
  Na wald nocht heir men mak menyng.
  He stude thar by quhill he wes ded,
- 240 And syne had him till haly sted, And him with worschip gert he be Erdit, with gret solempnite.

### How King Robert Bruce passed through the Tarbats, and won the Isles.

On this wis yschit the Mawndvele; Bot sekirly falsat and gyle 245 Sall evir have ane evill ending,

As weill wes seyn be this ysching.
In tyme of trewis yschit thai,
And in sic tyme as on Paske day,
Quhen God rais for to sauf mankyne

250 Fra wem of ald Adammis syne.
Tharfor sic gret myschans thame fell,
That ilkane, as yhe herd me tell,
War slane up, or than takyn thar.
And thai that in the castell war

221. C slow (S).

246. C by (S).

255 War set in-till sic fray that hour, For thai couth se quhar na succour Suld come to releif thame, that thai Shortly swa tretit, and on a day The castell till him yhald thai fre,

260 Till sauf thame thair liffis; and he Held thame full well all his cunnand. The castell tuk he in his hand, And vittalit it weill, and has set A gud wardane it for to get;

265 And a quhile thair than restit he. Of him no mair now spek will we, Bot till King Robert will we gang, That we haf left unspokyn of lang. Quhen he convoyit had to the se

270 His brothir Edward, and his menyhe, \*271 With his shippes he maid him yhar

\*In-till the Ilis for till fare.

\*Walter Steward with hym tuk he,

\*274 His mawch, and with him gret menyhe;
And othir men of gret nobillay.

Till the Tarbard thai held thar way
In galayis ordanit for thair fair.

Bot thame worthit draw thar schippes thar:

275 And a myle wes betuix the seis,
Bot that wes lownyt all with treis.
The Kyng his schippis thar gert draw,
And for the wynd can stoutly blaw
Apon thair bak, as thai wald ga,

280 He gert men rapis and mastis ta,
And set thame in the schippis hye,
And salys to the toppis te,
And gert men gang thar-by drawand.
The wynd thame helpit, that wes blawand;

285 Swa that, in-till a litill spas, Thar flot all weill our-drawyn was.

And quhen that that in the Ilis war, Herd tell how the gud Kyng had thar \*271-\*274. From C H. Not in E. 276. E lompnyt. Gert schippis with the salys ga
290 Out-our betuix the Tarbartis twa,
Thai war abasit all utrely.
For thai wist throu ald prophesy
That he that suld ger schippis swa
Betuix the seis with salis ga,

295 Suld wyn the Ilis swa till hand,
That nane with strynth suld him withstand.
Tharfor thai come all to the Kyng;
Wes nane that withstude his biddyng,
Outaken Johne of Lorne alane.

300 Bot weill soyne eftir he wes tane, And presentit wes to the Kyng. And thai that war of his leding, That to the King had brokyn fay, War all ded, and distroyit away.

305 The Kyng this Johne of Lorne has tane, And send soyne him till Dumbertane, A quhile in presone thair till be, And to Louchlevin syne send wes he, Quhar he wes lang tyme in festnyng:

310 Thair-in, I trow, he maid endyng.
The King, quhen all the Iles war
Brocht till his liking, les and mar,
Still all that sesoune thar duelt he
At huntyng, and gammyne, and gle.

# The Battle betwixt the Lord Douglas and the Lord Nevill of England.

Owhen the King on this maner
Dantit the Iles, as I tell her,
The gud Schir James of Dowglas
In-till the Forest duelland was,
Defendand worthely the land.
That tyme in Berwik was wonnan

320 That tyme in Berwik wes wonnand Edmound de Cailow, a Gascoune, That wes a knycht of gret renoune;

321. C Ewmound (S). H Edmound. C Calion (S). H Calhow. (See note.)

And in-till Gascone, his cuntre, Lord of gret senyheroy wes he.

325 He had than Berwik in keping, And maid ane preve gaddering, And gat him a gret cumpany Of wicht men armit jolely.

And the nethir end of Tevydaill 330 He prayit doune till him all hail,

And of the Mers ane gret party; Syne toward Berwik went in hy. Schir Adam of Gordoune, that than Wes becummyne a Scottis man,

335 Saw thame swa drif away thar fe, And wend thai had beyn quheyn, for he

\*337 Saw bot the fleand scaill, perfay,

\*And thame that sesyt on the pray.

\*Than till Schir James of Douglas

\*340 In-to gret hye the way he tais;

\*And tald how Inglis men thair pray \*Had tane; and syne went thar way

\*Toward Berwik with all thar fee,
\*And said they quheyn war; and gif he
Wald speid him, he suld weill lichtly
Wyn thame, and reskew all the ky.

\*345 Schir James richt soyne gaf his assent
\*Till follow thame, and furth is went,

\*Till follow thame, and furth is went, \*Bot with the men that he had thair,

\*And met hym by the gat but mair.
\*Thai followit thame in full gret hy,

\*350 And com weill neir thame hastely;

\*For, or thay mycht thame fully se,
\*Thai come weill neir with thair menyhe.

\*And than bath the forreouris and the scaill

\*In-till a childrome knyt all haill,

\*And wes a richt fair cumpany. \*356 Befor thame gert thai driff the ky

\*337-\*344 and \*345-\*356. From C H; not in E. \*347-\*348 in C

338. C in the (S); but Skeat suggests that 'perhaps it should be on.'

340 Had for till stand in feild to ficht. The laiff behynd thame maid a staill. The Dowglass saw thair purpos haill, And saw thame of sa gud covyne, And at thai war sa mony syne, 345 That thai for ane of his war twa. "Lordingis," he said, "sen it is swa "That we haff chassit on sic maner, "That we now cummyn ar so ner "That we may nocht eschewe the ficht 350 "Bot gif we fowly tak the flicht, "Lat ilk man on his luf than meyne, "And how he mony tyme has beyne "In grat thrang, and come weill away. "Think we till do right swa this day; 355 "And tak we of this furde heir-by "Our avantage, for in gret hy "Thai sall come on us for to ficht.

With knavis and swanys, that na mycht

272

"Set we than will, and strynth, and mycht
"For till meyt thame richt hardely."

360 And, with that word, full hastely,
He hes displayit his baner;
For his fayis war cumand neir.

For his fayis war cumand neir, That, quhen thai saw he wes so quhoyne, Thai thought with thame soyne till haf done,

365 And assemblit full hardely.

Thar men mycht se men fecht felly,
And richt ane cruell melle mak,
And mony strakis giff and tak.

The Douglass thair weill hard wes stad,
370 Bot the gret hardyment that he had
Comfort his men apon sic wis,
That no man thought on cowardis;
Bot faucht so fast with all thar mayne,
That thai feill of thair fayis has slayne.

<sup>341.</sup> C scaill (S); but S in note seems to prefer staill. 351. E his lemman (love).

<sup>366.</sup> C Thair mycht men se ficht fellely (S). 371. C confortit (S).

375 And thouch thai wer be fer full ma
Than thai, yheit ure demanyt thaim swa,
That Edmound de Cailow wes ded
Richt in that ilk fechting-sted.
And all the lave, fra he wes done,

380 War planly thair discumfit sone;
And thai that chassit sum has slayne,
And turnyt the prayis haill agane.
The hardest fechting forsuth this wes
That evir the gud lord of Dowglas

385 Wes in, as of sa few menyhe.

For, had nocht beyne his gret bounte
That slew thair chiftane in the ficht,
His men till ded had all beyne dicht.
He had in-till custum all-way,

390 Quhen evir he com till hard assay,
To press hym the chiftane to sla;
And hap him fell that he did swa,
That gert him victor have feill sis.
Quhen Schir Edmound apon this wis

395 Wes ded, the gud lord of Douglas
Till the Forest his way he tais.
His fayis gretly can hym dreid;
The word weill fer sprang of this deid,
Swa that in Ingland neir thar-by

400 Men spak of it weill comonly.
Schir Robert de Nevell in that tyde
Wonnyt at Berwyk, neir besyde
The marchis, quhar the lord Dowglas
In the Forest reparande was,

405 And had at him full gret invy,
For he him saw so manfully
Mak his boundis ay mar and mar.
He herd the folk that with him war
Spek of the lorde Dowglasis mycht,

410 And how forsy he wes in fycht, And how hym oft fell fayr fortoune. He wrethit him thar-at all soyne, And said, "Quhat weyn yhe, is thar nane "That evir is worth bot hym alane?

415 "Yhe set hym as he war but peir:

"But I avow, befor yhow heir,
"Gif evir he cum in-till this land,

"He sall fynd me neir at his hand.

"And giff I evir his baneir

420 "May see displayit apon wer,

"I sall assembill on hym but dout,

"All thouch yhe hald him nevir sa stout."

Of this avow soyne bodword was
Brocht till Schir James of Douglas,
425 That said, "Giff he will hald his hicht,
"I sall do swa he sall haf sicht
"Of me and of my cumpany,
"Yheit or oucht lang, weill neir hym by."
His reten new than gaderit he,
430 That war gud men of gret bounte,

And to the marchis in gud aray
Apon ane nycht he tuk the way;
Swa that, in the mornyng airly,
He wes, with all his cumpany,

435 Before Berwyk; and thair he maid Men to display his baner braid. And of his menyhe sum send he For till burne townys twa or thre, And bad thame soyn agane thame speid;

440 Swa that on hand, gif thar com neyd,
Thai mycht be for the ficht redy.
The Nevell that wist verraly.
That Dowglas cummyn wes so neir,
And saw all braid stand his baneir,

445 Than with the folk that with hym wer, (And he had a gret menyhe thar; For all the gud of that cuntre In-till that tyme with hym had he; Swa that he with hym thar had then 450 Weill may then wes the Scottis men)

He held his way up till ane hill, And said; "Lordyngis, it war my will "Till mak end of the gret deray

"That Dowglass makis us ilk day.

455 "Bot me think it speidful that we "Abyde, quhill his men scalit be "Throu the cuntre to tak the pray: "Than fersly schute on hym we may, "And we sall have thame at our will."

460 Thus all that gaiff consent thar-till, And on the hill abaid huvande. The men fast gadderit of the land, And drew till hym in full gret hy. The Douglas than, that wes worthy,

465 Thought it was foly mair till byde. Toward the hill than can he ryde; And quhen the Nevell saw at that Wald nocht pass furth to the forray, Bot pressit till thame with thar mycht,

470 He wist weill than that thai wald ficht, And till his menyhe can he say; "Lordingis, now hald we furth our way. "Heir is the flour of this cuntre,

" And ma than thai alsua ar we.

475 " Assemmyll we than hardely: " For Douglas with yhon yhemanry, "Sall haf no mycht till us, perfay." Than in a frusche assemblit thai. Than mycht men heir the speris brast,

480 And men dyng apon othir fast, And blude brist out at woundis wyde. Thai faucht fast apon athir syde; For athir party can thame payne Till put thair fais on bak agane.

The lordis of Nevell and Douglas, 485 Ouhen that the fichting fellest was, Met to-giddir right in the pres. Betuix thame than gret bargane wes; 18--2 Thai faucht felly with all thair maucht, 490 Gret rowtis athir till othir raucht. Bot Douglas sterkar wes, I hicht,

And mair usit alsua to ficht, And he set hert, and will alsua,

For till delyver him of his fa;

495 Quhill at the last, with mekill mayne, Throu fors the Nevell has he slayne.
Than his ensenyhe he can hye cry, And on the laiff so hardely
He ruschit, with all his menyhe,

500 That in-till schort tym men mycht se
Thair fayis tak on thame the flicht.
And thai thame chassit with all thar mycht.
Schir Ralf the Nevell, in the chas,
And the Baroun of Hiltoun was

Takin, and othyr of mekill mycht.
Thar wes fele slayne in-to that fycht,
That worthy in thar tyme had beyn.
And quhen the feld wes clengit cleyn,
Swa that thair fayis evirilkane

510 War slayn, or chassit away or tane,
Than gert he forray all the land,
And sessit all that evir he fand,
And brynt the townys in thar way;
Syne haill and feir haym cummyn ar thai.

515 The pray soyne emang his menyhe,
Eftir thar meritis, delit he,
And held no thing till his behuf.
Sic dedis aucht till ger men luf
Thair lorde, and swa thai did, perfay.

520 He tretit thame so wisly ay,
And with so mekill luf alsua,
And sic a countenans wald ma
Of thair deid, that the mast coward
Stoutar he maid than a libard;

525 With cherising thusgat maid he His men wicht, and of gret bounte.

506. C That wes slayn thair in-to the ficht (S), which does not seem to explain the context,

OWHEN Nevell thus wes broucht to ground, And of Cailow Schir Edmound,

The dreid of the lorde Dowglas,

530 And his renoun, swa scalit was
Throu-out the marchis of Ingland,
That all that war thar-in duelland
Thai dred him as the devill of hell.
And yheit haf I herd oftsis tell,

535 That he so gretly dred wes than
That quhen wiffis wald thar childir ban,
Thai wald with rycht ane angry face,
Beteche thaim "to the blak Dowglas."
\*For, with thair taill, he wes mair fell
\*Than wes ony devill in hell.
Throu his gret worschip and bounte,

540 Swa with his fayis dred wes he
That thaim growyt till heir his name.
He may at eis now duell at hame
A quhile, for I trow he sall nocht
With fais all a quhile be socht.

545 Now let him in the Forest be:
Of him no mair spek will we.
Bot of Schir Edward the worthy,
That with all his gude chevelry,
Wes at Cragfergus yheit liand,

550 To spek mair will we tak on hand.

### BOOK XVI.

Here passed in Ireland the noble King To his brother with great gathering.

Quhen Schir Edward, as I tald air, Had discumfit Richard of Clair, And of Irland all the barnage Thris, throu his worthy vassalage,

528. C Calyheoun (S). H Calhow. C Ewmond. H Edmound. Names in text from E.

\*539, \*540. In C only. These lines seem to be a repeat of 533, 534. 541. C grevit (S). H groowed. E H give the more effective term—shuddered.

- 5 And syne with all his men of mayne Till Cragfergus wes cummyn agayn, The gud Erll of Murreff, Thomas, Tuk leiff in Scotland for till pas. And he hym levit with a gruching,
- To And syne him chargit to the King,
  Till pray him specialy that he
  Suld cum in Irland him to se.
  For, war thai bath in-to that land,
  Thai suld fynd nane suld thaim withstand.
- The Erll furth than his way has tane,
  And till his schippes is he gane,
  And salit out weill our the se,
  In Scotland soyne arivit he.
  Syne to the king he went in hy:
- 20 And he resavit hym gladsumly; And sperit of his brotheris fair, And of journeis that he had thair; And he him tald all but lesyng. Quhen the King had left spering,
- 25 His charge to the gud king tald he. And he said, he wald blithly se His brothir, and als all the effeire Of that cuntre and of thar were. A gret menyhe than gaderit he:
- 30 And twa lordis of gret bounte, The tane the Steward Walter was, The tothir, James of Dowglas, Wardanis in his absens maid he, For till manteym weill the cuntre.
- 35 Syne to the se he tuk his way; And at Lowchryan in Galloway He schippit, with all his menyhe; Till Cragfergus soyne cummyn is he. Schir Edward of his com wes blith,
- 40 And went down for to meit him swith, And welcummyt him with gladsum cher: Sa did he all that with him wer;

And specialy the Erll Thomas
Of Murreff, that his nevo was.
45 Syne to the castell went thai thar,
And maid thame mekill fest and far.
Thai sojournyt thair dayis thre
In gret myrth and in rialte.

# How King Robert the Bruce passed in Ireland with his brother Edward.

YNG ROBERT, apon thiskyn wis,
In-till Irland arivit is:
And quhen in Cragfergus had he
With his men sojournyt dais thre,
Thai tuk to consell that thai wald,
With all thar folk, thar wayis hald
Throu all Irland, fra end to othir.
Schir Edward than, the Kingis brothir,

Befor in the avaward raid; The Kyng him-self the reirward maid,

That had in-till his cumpany

60 The Erll Thomas, that wes worthy.
Thair wayis furthwarde haf thai tane,
And soyne are passit Inderwillane.
This wes in the moneth of May,
Quhen byrdis syngis on the spray;

65 Melland thair notys with sydry sowne,
For softnes of that sweit sesoune;
And levis on the branchis spredis,
And blomys bricht besyd thame bredis
And feldis florist ar with flowris

70 Well savourit, of seir colowris;

46. C He maid (S). E H And maid.

47, 52. C sudjornyt (S).

48. E And that in myrth and jolyte. H royaltie.

61. E southwart. H fordward. 64. E in ilk spray. H on ilk.

65. E H seymly.

69. E ar strowyt. H strowed ar.

70. E saverand. H savouring.

And all thing worthis blith and gay; Quhen that this gud king tuk his way To ryd furthward, as I said are. The wardane than, Richard of Clare,

75 Wist the Kyng wes arivit swa, And wist that he schupe for till ta His way toward the south cuntre. Of all Irland assemblit he Bath burges and chevalry

80 And hobilleris aud yhumanry;
Quhill he had neir fourty thousand.
Both he wald nocht yheit tak on hand
With all his fayis in field to ficht,
But umbethoucht him of a slicht:

85 That he with all that gret menyhe Wald in a wode enbuschit be, And prevely besyde the way, Quhar at thar fayis suld pas away, And let the vaward pas fer by,

90 And syne assemmyll hardely On the reirward, with all thar men. Thai did as thai devisit then. In a wode thai enbuschit wer: The Scottis hoost raid by thame nere; 95 For thai na schawing of thame maid.

Schir Edward weill fer forrouth raid
With thame that war of his menyhe;
To the reirward na tent tuk he.

And Schir Richard of Clare in hy,
100 Quhen Schir Edward wes passit by,
Send wicht yhomen, that weill couth schut,
To bikkir the reirward apon fut.
Than twa of thame that send furth war
At the wode-syde thame bykkirrit thar,

73. E southwart. H southward.

79, 80. C gives-

Till him a full gret chevelry Of squyaris, burges and yhemanry (S).

But burgesses and yeomanry would not be chevelry, and H agrees with E.

The King, that had that with him then Five thousand wicht and ek hardy, Saw thai twa sa abaundonly Schut emang thaim, and cum so neir;

That thai weill, withouten weir,
That thai weill neir suppowal had.
Tharfor a bydding has he mad,
That no man suld be so hardy
Till prik till thame, but sarraly

115 Ryde reddy ay in-till battale, Till defend gif men wald assale. "For we sall soyne, I undirta," He said, "haf for till do with ma."

Bot Schir Colyne Cammell, that ner 120 Wes by quhar thai twa yhomen wer, Schutand emang thame hardely, Prikit on thame in full gret hy, And soyne the tane he has our-tane, And with his sper him soyne has slayne.

125 The tothir turnyt and schot agayne, And at a schot his hors has slayne. With that the King come hastely, And, in his gret malancoly, With ane trunsione in-till his nave

To Schir Colyne sic dusche he gave,
That he dynnyt on his arsoune.
The King bad smertly tyt hym doune,
Bot othir lordis, that war him by,
Ameyssyt the King in sum party.

135 He said, "The breking of bydding "Micht caus be of discomfiting.

"Weyn yhe yhon rebaldis durst assale "Us so neir, in-till our battale,

"Bot gif thai had suppowale neir?

140 "I wat richt weill, forouten weir,

"That we sall have till do in hy; "Tharfor luk ilk man be reddy."

134. C Avisit (S). H Hes meased.

With that weill neir thretty and ma
Of bowmen com, and bykkyrrit swa
145 That thai hurt of the Kyngis men.
The King has gert his archeris then
Schute for till put thaim than agayne.
With that thai enterit in ane playne,
And saw arayit agane thame stand,
150 In four battellis, fourty thousand.

The king said, "Now, lordingis, lat se "Quha worthy in this ficht sall be. "On thame forouten mair abaid!" So stoutly than on thame thai raid,

That of thair fayis a gret party
War laid at erd at thar meting.
Thar wes of speris sic bristing,
As athir apon othir raid,

160 That it a weill gret frusche has maid. Hors com thair fruschand, hed for hed, Swa that feill on the grund fell ded. Mony a wycht and worthy man, As athir apon othir ran,

The rede blude out of mony a wound Ruschit in sa gret fusionne than,
That of the blude the stremes ran.
And thai, that wrath war and angry,

170 Dang on othir so hardely,
With wapnys that war bricht and bar,
That mony a wicht man ded wes thar.
For thai that hardy war and wicht,
And frontly with thar fayis can ficht,

175 Pressit thame formast for till be.
Thair mycht men cruell bargane se,
And hard battall, I tak on hand.
In all the weir of Irland
So hard ane fichting wes nocht seyne:

177. C I undirstand (S). E H tak on hand. 178. C In-til (S). S also inserts all, which C omits here, but inserts before Irland, which it gives as Ingland. C is clearly defective. 180 The-quhethir of gret victoris nynteyne Schir Edward had, withouten wer, In-till les than in-to thre yheir; And in syndry battelis off thai He vencust twenty thousand and ma,

185 With trappit hors richt to the feit.
Bot in all tymis he wes yheit
Ay ane for fyve, quhen lest wes he,
Bot the Kyng, in-to this melle,
Had allwayis aucht of his famen

That his gud deid and his bounte
Confortit swa all his menyhe,
That the mast coward hardy wes.
For, quhar he saw the thykkest pres,

That ay about hym rowme he maid.
And Erll Thomas, the worthy,
Wes in all tymis neir hym by,
And faucht as he war in a rage;

200 Swa that, throu thar gret vassalage, Thar men sic hardyment can tak, That thai no perell wald forsak; Bot thame abaundonyt so stoutly, And dang on thame so hardely,

205 That all thair fayis afrayit war.

And thai, that saw weill, be thair fair,
That thai eschewit sumdeill the ficht,
Thai dang on thame with all thar mycht,

\*209 And pressit thame dyngand so fast,
\*That that the bak gaf at the last,

\*And thai, that saw thaim tak the flicht,

\*212 Pressit thame than with all thar mycht, And in thair fleying feill can sla.

210 The Kingis men has chasit swa, That thai war scalit evirilkane. Richard of Clare the way has tane

\*197, \*198. That he slew all he might ourtak
And rudely rushed them abak.—In H only.

184. E xxx. H twentie. 206. C by thair (S). \*209-\*212. In C H, not in E; owing to occurrence of two mychts.

To Devillyng, in full gret hy,
With othir lordis that fled him by,
215 And warnyst bath castell and townys
That war in thair possessiownis.

Thai war so felly flevit thar, That, as I trow, Richard of Clar Sall haf no will to faynd hys mycht 220 In battell, na in fors of fycht, Quhill King Robert and his menyhe Is duelland in-to that cuntre. Thai stuffit strynthis on this wis; And the King, that wes sa till pris, 225 Saw in the feild richt mony slayn. And ane of thame that thar wes tane, That wes arayit jolely, He saw greit wondir tendirly, And askit him quhy he maid sic cher: 230 He said him, "Schir, forouten wer, " It is no wonder though I grete, "I se feill heir fellit to fete. "The flour of all north Irland. "That hardyest wes of hert and hand, 235 "And mast doutit in hard assay." The King said, 'Thou has wrang, perfay; 'Thou has mair caus myrthis till ma, 'For thou the ded eschapit swa.'

RYCHARD of Clare on this maner,
And all his folk, discumfit wer,
With few folk, as I to yhow tald.
And quhen Edward the Bruce so bald,
Wist at the King had fouchten swa,
With sa feill folk, and he thar-fra,
Micht no man se ane wrathar man.

Bot the gude King said till hym than, That it wes in his awn foly, For he raid sa unwittandly

229. C He askit (S).
232. E lossyt the suet. H slain at my feete.

So fer befor, and no avaward
250 Maid to thame of the reirward,
For, he said, quha on were wald ryde
In the vaward, he suld na tyde
Press fra his rerward fer of sycht;
For gret perell so fall thair mycht.

255 Of this ficht will we spek no mair.
The King, and all that with him war,
Raid furthwarde in-to bettir aray,
And neir to-giddir than ere did thai.
Throu all the land planly thai raid;

260 Thai fand nane that thame warnyng maid.
Thai raid evin forrouth Drouchyndra,
And forrouth Devilling syne alsua:
Bot to gif battale nane thai fand.
Syne thai went forthwarde in the land,

265 And sowth till Lynrike held their way, That is the southmast toune, perfay, That in Irland may fundyn be. Thair lay thai dayis twa or thre, And buskit syne agane to fare.

270 And quhen that that all reddy war,
The King has herd ane woman cry,
He askit quhat that wes in hy.
"It is ane landar, schir," said ane,
"That hir childyne richt now has tane;

"And mon leve now behynd us her,
"Tharfor scho makis yhon evill cher."
The King said; 'Certis, it war pite
'That scho in that poynt left suld be;

'For certis, I trow, thar is no man 280 'That he ne will rew a woman than.' His host all than arestit he, And gert ane tent soyne stentit be, And gert her gang in hastely,

And other women till be hir by,

260. E obstakill maid. 264. E southwart. 265. E rycht till. 265. C Lunyk (S). E Kynrike. H Lynrike. In Anderson's edition we find Lymrik.

280. Cup-on woman (S). H like E.

285 Quhill scho delyver wes, he bad; And syne furth on his wayis raid; And how scho furth suld caryit be, Or evir he fure, than ordanit he. This wes a full gret curtasy,

290 That sic a Kyng and swa mychty, Gert his men duell on this maner Bot for a full pouir laynder. Northward agane that tuk the way, Throu all Irland thus passit that,

295 Throw Conage richt to Devilling, And throu all Myth, and Irell syne, And Monester, and Lenester, And syne haly throu Ullister, To Cragfergus, forout battell;

300 For thar wes nane durst thame assale.

The kingis than of the Eryschrye
Come to Schir Edwarde halely;
And thair manrent till him ma,
Bot gif that it war ane or twa.

305 Till Čragfergus thai come agane; In all that way wes no bargane, Bot gif that ony punyhe wer, That is nocht for till spek of her. The Erische kyngis than evirilkane

310 Hayme till thar awne repar ar gane, And undirtuk in all-kyn thyng For till obeys till the biddyng Of Schir Edward, that thar king call thai. He wes weill set now in gud way

315 To conquest the land all halely;
For he had apon his party
The Eryschry and Ullister,
And he wes swa furth of his wer
That he was passit throu all Irland,

320 Fra end till end throu strynth of hand. Couth he haf governit hym throu skill, And fallowit nocht to fast his will,

293. E H lavender. 295. E Connach. H Connoch. 296. E Methy. H Mich. E Iereby. H Irrelle.

Bot with mesour haf led his deid, It wes weill lik, withouten dreid,
325 That he mycht haff conquerit weill The land of Irland everilk deill.
Bot his outrageous succudry And will, that mar wes than hardy, Of purpos letit hym, perfay,
330 As I heir-eftir sall yhow say.

### How the Good Douglas slew the Earl Richmond of England.

N OW leiff we heir the nobill King All at his eis, and his liking, And spek we of the lord Douglas, That left to kep the marchis was.

335 He gert get wrichtis that wes sle, And in the hawch of Lyntoun-le He gert thame mak a fair maner. And quhen the housis biggit wer, He gert purvay him richt weill thar;

340 For he thought for till make infair, And till mak gud cher till his men. In Rychmond wes thar wonnand then Ane Erll men callit Schir Thomas. He had invy at the Dowglas,

345 And said, gif that he his baner
Micht se displayit apon wer,
That soyn assemble on it suld he.
He herd how Dowglas thoucht to be
At Lyntoun-le ane fest till ma.

350 And he had wittyng weill alsua, That the King and a gret menyhe, War passit than of the cuntre, And the Erll of Murref, Thomas. Tharfor he thought the cuntre was

355 Febill of men for till withstand
Men that thame soucht with stalward hand:
And of the marchis than had he
The governale, and the pouste.

336. E Lyntaile. H Lyntalle.

- He gaderit folk about hym then,
  360 Quhill he wes neir ten thousand men,
  And wode-axis gert with hym tak;
  For he thoucht he his men wald mak
  Till hew doune Jedward forest cleyne,
  That na tre suld tharin be seyne.
- 365 Thai held thaim furthward on thar way;
  Bot the gud lord of Dowglas ay
  Had spyis out on ilka syde,
  And had gud witting that thai wald ryde,
  And cum apon hym suddanly.

370 Than gaderit he richt hastely
Thame that he mycht of his menyhe.
I trow that than with hym had he
Fifty, that worthy war and wicht,
At all poynt armyt weill and dicht;

And of archeris a gret menyhe
Assemblit als with hym had he.
A place thar was thar in the way,
Quhar he wist weill thai wald away,
That had wode apon athir syde;

380 The entre wes weill large and wyde; And as ane schelde it narrowit ay Quhill that, in-till ane place, the way Wes nocht a penny-stane cast of breid. The lord of Douglas thidder yheid,

385 Quhen he wist thai war neir cumand, And in a clewch on the ta hand, All his archeris enbuschit he, And bad thame hald thame all preve Quhill that thai herd him rais the cry,

390 And than suld thai schute hardely Emang thar fayis, and hald thame thar Quhill that he throu thame passit war; And syne with him furth hald suld thai. Than byrkis on athir syde the way,

395 That yhoung and thik wes growand ner, He knyt to-giddir on sic maner, 301. E and sow thaim sair. H saile them saire.

That men mycht nocht weill throu thame ryde. Quhen this wes done, he can abyde Apon the tothir half the way:

400 And Richmond in-till gude aray
Com rydand in the first escheill.
The lorde Dowglas has seyn him weill,
And gert his men all hald thame still,
Quhill richt at hand thai com thame till

And enterit in the narrow way.

Than with a schout on thame schot thai,
Cryand on hicht, "Douglas! Douglas!"
Than Richmonde, that rycht worthy was,
Quhen he has herd sa ris the cry,

410 And Dowglas baner saw planly,
He dressit him thiddir-ward in hy.
And thai come on sa hardely,
That thai throu thame maid thame gud way;
All at thai met till erd bar thai,

On hym arestit the Dowglas,
And him reversit, syne with a knyff
Richt in that place hym reft the liff.
Ane hat apon his helm he bare,

420 And that tuk Douglas with him thar
In taknyng, for it furrit was.
And syne in hy his way he tais,
Quhill in the wode that enterit war.
The archeris weill has borne thame thar;

425 For weill and hardely schot thai.
The Inglis rout in gret effray
War set, for Douglas suddandly,
With all thame of his cumpany,
Or evir thai wist, war in thar rout,

430 And thrillit thame weill neir throuout; And had almast all done his deid, Or thai till help thame couth take hede.

<sup>401.</sup> C battale (S). H eshell. 402. C seyn weill all (S). H as E. 408. Rycht is from H alone (S).

And quhen thai saw thar lord wes slayne, Thai tuk him up, and turnyt agayne

Till draw thame fra the schot away.
Than in ane playne assemblit thai;
And, for thar lord that thar wes ded,
Thai schupe thame in that ilke sted
For till take herbery all that nycht.

440 And than the Douglas, that wes wicht, Gat wittering that ane clerk, Elys, With weill thre hundreth enymys, All straucht till Lyntoun-le war gane, And herbery for thair host had tane.

445 Than thiddir is he went in hy,
With all thame of his cumpany,
And fand clerk Elis at the met,
And all his rout about him set.

And thai com on thaim stoutly thair,
450 And with suerdis that scharply schar
Thai servit thame full egyrly.
Thai war slayn doune so halely,

That thar weill neir eschapit nane; Thai servit thame in sa gret wayne

455 With scherand swerdis and with knyvis,
That weill neir all lesyt thar livis.
Thai had ane felloune entremas,
For that surcharge to chargeand was!
Thai that eschapit thair throu cas

460 Richt till thar host thar wayis tais,
And tald how that thar men war slayne
So cleyne that neir eschapit nane.
And quhen thai of the host has herd
How that the Dowglas with thame ferd,

And ruschit als thame-self agane,
And slew thar lord in-myd thar rowt,
Ther wes nane of thame all sa stowt,
That mair will had than till assale

470 The Dowglas; tharfor till consale

434. C and went (S). H turned. 449. C on hym (S). H as E. Thai yheid, and till purpos has tane Till wend hamward, and haym ar gane; And sped thame swa apon thair way, That in Ingland soyne cummyn ar thai.

475 The forest left thai standand still;
Till hew it than thai had no will:
And specialy quhill the Dowglas
So neir hand by thair nychtbour was.
And he, that saw thame turn agane,

480 Persavit weill thar lord wes slane,
And by the hat that he had tane
He wist alsua weill; for ane,
That takyn wes, said him suthly,
That the Richmond commonly

485 Wes wount that furrit hat to were.

Than Dowglas blithar wes than ere;

For he weill wist that the Richmond,

His felloune fa, wes broucht to ground.

SCHIR James of Dowglas, on this wis,
Throu his worschip and gret empris,
Defendit worthely the land.
This poynt of weir, I tak on hand,
Wes undirstane so apertly,
And eschevit richt hardely.

495 For he stonayit, withouten weir,
The folk that weill ten thousand weir,
With fifty armyt men but ma.
I can als tell yhow othir twa
Poyntis, that weill eschevit weir
500 With fifty men; and, but all weir,

\*500 With fifty men; and, but all weir \*501 Thai war done swa richt hardely, \*That thai war prisit soveranly,

\*Atour all other poyntis of wer \*504 That in thar tym eschevit wer.

This wes the first, that sa stoutly
Wes broucht till end weill with fifty.
In Galloway the tothir fell;
Quhen, as yhe forrouth herd me tell,

\*501-\*504. Not in E. In C H.

- 505 Schir Edward the Bruys, with fifty, Vencust of Saint Johne Schir Amery, And fifteene hundreth men be tale. The thrid fell in-to Eske-dale, Quhen that Schir Jhone the Sowlis was
- The governour of all that plas,
  That to Schir Androu the Herdelay
  With fifty men withset the way,
  That had thar in his cumpany
  Thre hundreth horsit jolely.
- 515 This Schir Jhone in-to plane melle,
  Throu hardyment and soverane bounte
  Vencust thame sturdely ilkane,
  And Schir Androu in hand has tane.
  I will nocht rehers all the maner;
- 520 For quha sa likis, thai may heir Yhoung women, quhen thai will play, Syng it emang thame ilke day. Thir war the worthy poyntis thre, That, I trow, evirmar sall be
- 525 Prisit, quhill men may on thaim meyn. It is weill worth, forouten weyn, That thar namys for evirmar, That in thar tyme so worthy war That men till heir yheit has dantee
- 530 Of thair worschip and gret bounte,
  Be lestand ay furth in lovyng:
  Quhare he, that is of hevyn the king,
  Bring thame hye up till hevynnis blis,
  Quhar alway lestand loving is!
- 535 I N-TILL this tyme that the Rychmond Was on this maner broucht to ground, Men of the cost of Ingland, That duelt on Hummyr or neirhand, Gaderit thame a gret menyhe,
- 540 And went with schippes to the se, And toward Scotland went in hy, And in the Firth com hastely.
- 505. C Brys (S). 507. E fyfty. H fifteene. C xv (S).

Thai wend till haf all thar liking: For thai wist richt weill at the King

545 Wes than fer out of the cuntre, And with him mony of gret bounte. Tharfor in-to the Firth com thai And endlang it up held thai thar way, Quhill thai, besyde Enverkethyne,

550 On west half, toward Dunfermlyne, Tuk land, and fast begouth to reif. The Erll of Fiff and the schirreff Saw till thar cost schippes approachand: Thai gaderit till defend thair land,

And ay forgane the schippis ay,
As that salit, that held thar way,
And thoucht till let thame land to tak,
And quhen the schipmen saw thame mak
Sie contenans in sic aray,

560 Thai said emang thaim all, that thai

Wald nocht let for thame land to ta,
Than to the land thai sped thame swa,
That thai com thair in full gret hy
And arivit full hardely.

565 The Scottis men saw thair cummyng, And had of thame sic abasyng, That thai all sammyn raid thame fra, And the land letles leit thame ta. Thai durst nocht fecht with thame, for-thi

570 Thai withdrew thame all halely;
The-quhethir thai war fyve hundreth ner.
Quhen thai away thus ridand wer,
And na defens begouth to schop,
Of Dunkelden the gude bischop,

575 That men callit Willyhame Syncler Com with a rout in gud manere, I trow on hors thai war sexty. Hym-self wes armyt jolely,

548. C endlang furth held that thar way. Eit up held that. H it held up their way.

549. E Enverkething.

550. E Dunferling.

And raid apon a stalward steid.
580 A chemeyr, for till heill his weid,
Above his armyng had he then;
And als weill armyt wes his men.
The Erll with the schirreff met he,
Awayward with thar gret menyhe:

585 And askyt thame weill soyn, quhat hy Maid thame till turne so hastely.

Thai said, thair fais with stalward hand Had in sic fusioune takyne land,

That thai thoucht thame allout to fele,

590 And thame to few with thame to dele. Quhen the bischop herd it wes sa, He said; "The King aucht weill to ma "Of yhow, that takis sa weill on hand "In his absens till wer the land.

"Certis, gif he gert serve yhow weill,
"The gilt spuris, richt by the heill,
"He suld in hy ger hew yhow fra;
"Richt wald with cowardis men did swa.

"Ouha lufis his lord and his cuntre,

600 "Turne smertly now agane with me!"
With that he kest of his chemer,
And hynt in hand a stalward sper,
And raid toward his fayis in hy.
All turnyt with hym halely;

605 For he had thame reprevit swa,
That of thame all nane went him fra.
He raid befor thame sturdely,
And thai hym followyt sarraly,
Ouhill that thai com neir approchand

610 To thar fais that had tane land. And sum war knyt in gud aray, And sum war set to the forray.

The gud bischop, quhen he thame saw, He said; "Lordingis, but dreid or aw, 615 "Prek we apon thame hardely, "And we sall haf thame weill lichtly,

"Se that us cum but abaysing, "Swa that we mak heir na stynting, "Thai sall weill soyne discumfit be. 620 "Now dois weill; for men sall se, "Quha lufis the Kyngis mensk to-day." Than all to-giddir in gud aray Thai prekit apon thame sturdely. The bischop, that wes right hardy 625 And mekill and stark, raid forrouth ay. Than in a frusche assemblit thai. And thai that, at the first metyng Of speris, feld so sair sowing, Wayndist and wald haf beyn away: 630 Toward than schippis in hy held thai, And that com chassand felonly, And slew thame sa dispitfully. That all the feldis strowit war Of Inglis men that slayn wes thar. 635 And thai that yheit held unslayn, Pressit thame to the se agane. And Scottis men, that chassit swa, Slew all that that mycht our-ta. Bot that that fled yheit, nocht-for-thi, 640 Swa till thar schippis can thame hy, And in sum bargis sa feill can ga, And thair fais thame chasit swa, That thai ourtummyllit, and the men That war thar-in all drownit then. 645 Thar did ane Inglis man, perfay, A weill gret strynth, as I herd say. For guhen he chassit wes to the bat, A Scottis man, that him handlyt hat, He hynt than by the armys twa; 650 And, war him weill or war him wa, He evin apon his bak hym flang, And with hym till the bat can gang,

And kest him in, all magre his.
This wes ane weill gret strynth, i-wis.
The Inglis men, that wan away,
Till thair schippes in hy went thai,

And salit hayme, angry and wa That thai had beyn reboytit swa.

## How Good King Robert the Bruce came Home again from Ireland.

OWHEN that the schipmen on this wis War discumfit, as I devis,
The bischop, that so weill hym bare
That he all hertit that wes thar,
Wes yheit in to the fechting-sted,
Quhar that fyve hundreth neir wes ded,
Forouten thame that drownyt war.

665 Forouten thame that drownyt war.

And quhen the feld wes spulyheit bare,
Thai went all hayme to thar repare.
To the bischop is fallen faire,
That, throu his pris and his bounte,

That, throu his pris and his bounted for Has eschevit sa gret journee;
The Kyng tharfor, ay fra that day,

Hym lufit, honorit and prisit ay, And held hym in-to sic daynte That "his awne bischop" him callit he.

675 Thus thai defendit the cuntre
Apon bath halfis the Scottis Se,
Quhill that the King wes out of land,
That than, as I have borne on hand,
Throu all Irland his cours had maid,

680 And agane to Cragfergus raid.

And quhen his brothir, as he war King,
Had all Erischry at his bidding,
And halely Ulcister alsua,
He buskit hame his way to ta.

685 Of his men that war mast hardy And prisit of all chevelry, With his brothir gret part left he, And syne he went on-to the se. Quhen thair levis on athir party

690 Wes tane, he went to schip in hy.

The Erll Thomas with him he had; Thai rasit salys but abaid, And in the land of Gallowa, Forouten perell, arivit thai.

#### BOOK XVII.

The Winning of the Town of Berwick by the Scots Men, through the Means of Sim of Spalding.

The lordis of the land wes fayne
Quhen thai wist he wes cummyn agane,
And till him went in full gret hy,
And he resavit thame richt gladly,
5 And maid a fest and gladsum cher.
And thai so wondirly blith wer
Of his come, that na toung mycht say;
Gret fest and fair till him maid thai.
Quhar-evir he raid, all the cuntre
To Gaderit in daynte him to se.

Gret gladschip than wes in the land; All than wes wonnyne till his hand; Fra Redis Swyr till Orkynnay Wes nocht of Scotland fra his fay,

That tyme thar-in wonnyt ane,
That capitane wes of the toune.
All Scottis men in suspicioune
He held, and tretit thame richt ill;

20 He had ay at thame hevy will,
And had thame fast at undir ay.
Quhill that it fell, apon a day,
That a burges, Sym of Spaldyng,
Thoucht it was richt ane angry thing

25 Ay swagat till reboytit be; Tharfor in-till his hert thoucht he, That he wald slely mak covyne With the marschall, quhais cosyne He had weddit on-till his wiff;
30 And as he thought he did beliff.
Letteris till him he send in hy
With a trast man all prevaly;
And set hym tym to cum a nycht
With ledderis and gud men and wicht,

35 Till the Kow-yhet all prevely;
And bad him hald his trast treuly,
And he suld meit thame at the wall;
For his wach that that nycht suld fall.
Quhen the marschall the letteris saw,

40 He umbethoucht him than a thraw; For he wist, be him-selvin he Micht nocht of mycht na power be For till escheve so gret a thing: And gif he tuk till his helping,

45 Ane or othir suld wrethit be.
Tharfor richt till the King yheid he,
And schawit him betuix thai twa
The lettir and the charge alsua.
Quhen that the King herd that this trane

50 Wes spokin in-to sic certane,
That him thought thar-in na fantys,
He said him; "Certis, thou wrought has wis,
"That they discoverit first till may

"That thou discoverit first till me; "For gif thou had discoverit thee

55 "Till my nevo, the Erll Thomas,
"Thou suld disples the lord Douglas;

"And him alsua in the contrer. Bot I sall wirk on sic maner,

"That thou at thine entent sall be,

60 "And have of nane of thame magre. "Thou sall tak kep weill to thi day,

"And with thame that thou purches may

"At evin thou sall enbuschit be

"In Duns park; bot be preve.
65 "And I sall ger the Erll Thomas,
"And the lead along of Domailes."

"And the lord alsua of Dowglas,

33. C at (S). H ane. E a.

"Athir with ane quheyne of men, "Be thair till do as thou sall ken."

The marschall than but mair delay 70 Tuk lief, and held on furth his way; And held the spek preve and still, Quhill the day that wes set him till. Than of the best of Lowdyane He with him till his trist has tane; 75 For schirreff thar-off than wes he. Till Duns park with his menyhe He come at evyn all prevely. And syne, with a gude cumpany, Soyne eftir come the Erll Thomas, 80 That wes met with the lord Douglas. A right fair cumpany thai war, Ouhen thai war met to-giddir thar. And guhen the marschall the covyne Till bath the lordis, lyne be lyne, 85 Had tald, thai went on furth thar way; Fer fra the toune than hors left thai. Till mak it schort, swa thai wroucht than That, but seying of ony man, Outane Sym of Spaldyne allane, oo That gert the deid be undirtane, Thai set thair ledderis to the wall, And, but persaving, com up all; And held thame in ane nuke preve, Quhill at the nycht suld passit be. 95 And ordanit that the mast party Of thair men suld gang sarraly With thar lordis, and hald a staill, And the remanand suld all haill Scaill throu the toun, and tak and sla 100 The men that thai mycht our-ta.

> Bot soyn thar ordinans brak thai; For, als soyn as it dawit day, The twa part of thair men and ma, All scalit, throu the toun to-ga;

- 105 Sa gredy war thai till the gude, That thai ran richt as thai war woude, And sesit housis and slew men. And thai that saw thair fais then Cum apon thame suddanly,
- And schot to-gidder heir and thair:
  And ay, as thai assemblit war,
  Thai wald abyde and mak debat.
  Had thai beyn warnyt, weill I wat,
- For thai war gud men, and thai wer Fer ma than thai war at thame soucht; Bot thai war scalit sa at thai moucht On na maner assemblit be.
- 120 Thar wes gret melleis twa or thre; Bot Scottis men so weill thame bar That thair fais ay ruschit war; And cumrayit at the last war swa That thai haly the bak can ta.
- 125 Sum gat the castell, bot nocht all; And sum ar slyddin our the wall, And sum war in-to handis tane, And sum war in the bargane slane. On this wis thame contenit thai,
- Than that that in the castell war,
  And other that fled to thame thar,
  That war a richt gret cumpany,
  Quhan that the baner saw sympilly
- 135 Swa standand, stuffit with sa quhoyn, Thar yhettis haf thai opnyt soyn, And yschit on thame hardely. Than Erll Thomas, that wes worthy And als the gude lord of Douglas,
- 140 With the few folk that with thame was, Met thame stoutly with wapnys seir; Thar men mycht se, that had beyn neir, Men abaundoune thame hardely. The Inglis men faucht cruelly,

145 And with all mychtis can thame payne Till rusche the Scottis men agane. I trow that had swa done, perfay, For thai war fewar fer than thai, Gif it ne had beyn ane new maid knycht, 150 That till his name Schyr Wilyhame hight Of Keth, and of the Gawlistoune He hecht, throu difference of sur-noune,

That bair him sa rycht weill that day, And put him till sa hard assay,

155 And sic dyntis about him dang, That, guhar he saw the thikast thrang, He prikit with sa mekill mycht, And sua enforsaly can ficht, That he maid till his menyhe way:

160 And thai that neir war by him ay Dang on thair fayis sa hardely, That thai haf tane the bak halv And till the castell held thair way. And at gret myscheiff enterit thai,

165 For thai war pressit thair so fast, That that feill lesit of the last; Bot that that enterit, nocht-for-thi, Sparit thair yhettis hastely; And in hy to the wallis ran, 170 For thai war nocht all sekir than.

> THE toune wes takyn on this wis Throu gret worschip and hye empris; And all the gud that thai thar fand Wes sesit smertly in-till hand.

175 Vittaill thai fand in gret fusionne, And all that fell till stuff of toune; That kepit that fra distroying, And syne has word send to the King.

And he wes of that tithing blith, 180 And sped him thiddirward full swith. And as he throu the cuntre raid Men gaderit till him, quhill he had

172. C With gret. H Through.

A mekill rout of worthy men. And the folk that war wonand then 185 In-till the Mers and Tevidaill. And in the Forest als all haill, And the est end of Lowdiane, Befor that the King com, ar gane To Berwik with a stalward hand, 190 That nane that wes that tyme wonand On whond half Tweid durst weill apeir. And that that in the castell weir, Quhen thai thair fais in sic plente Saw forrouth thame assemblit be, 195 And had na hope of reskewyng, Thai war abasit in gret thing. Bot that the castell, nocht-for-thi, Held thai fiff dayis sturdely, Syne yhald it on the sext day, 200 And till thair cuntre syne went thai.

# Here Walter Stewart took of the King Both town and castle in keeping.

Thus wes the castell and the toune Till Scottis mennys possessioun Broucht: and soyn eftir the King Com ridand with his gadering 205 Till Berwik; and in the casteill He herbryit is, bath fair and weill And all his gret lordis hym by. The remanand all comonly Till herbry in the toun ar gane. 210 The King has than till consell tane, That he wald nocht brek doune the wall. Bot castell, and the toune with-all. Stuff weill with men and with vittaill And alkynd othir apparaill 215 That mycht availl, or yheit mysteir Till hald castell or toune of wer.

202. C Scottis men (S).

And Walter, Steward of Scotland, That than wes yhoung and avenand, And sone-in-law wes to the King,

- 220 Had sa gret will and sic yharnyng,
  Neirhand the marchis for till be,
  At Berwik to yhemsall tuk he;
  And resavit of the Kyng the toune,
  Bath the castell and the dungeoune.
- Ryde in-till Ingland for till pray,
  That broucht out gret plente of fee;
  And sum cuntreis trewit he
  For vittale, that in gret foysoune
- 230 He gert bring smertly to the toune, Swa that bath toune and castell war Weill stuffit for ane yheir and mair. The gude Steward of Scotland then Send for his frendis and his men,
- 235 Quhill he had with him, but archeris, But burges and botoblesteris, Fiff hundreth men wicht and worthy, That armys bar of ancistry.
- Johne Crab, a Flemyne, als had he, 240 That wes of gret subtilite, Till ordane till mak aparale For till defend and till assale Castell of wer or than cite, That nane slear mycht fundin be.
- 245 He gert engynis and trammys ma, And purvait grec fyre alsua; Spryngaldis and schotis on seir maneris That till defend castell afferis, He purvait in-till full gret wane.
- 250 Bot gynis for crakkis had he nane;

245. C trammys or crammys. E cramys or tranys. H trames, Owing to the similarity of 't' and 'c' in MSS. the reading is uncertain.

246. For the reason explained above it is doubtful whether we should here read gret or gree—i.e., Greek—probably the latter.

For in Scotland yheit than, but wene, The oys of thame had nocht beyn sene And quhen the toune apon this wis Wes stuffit, as I heir devis,

255 The nobill King his way has tane And ryddin toward Lowiane. And Walter Steward, that wes stout, He left in Berwik with his rout, And ordanit fast for apparaill

260 Till defend gif men wald assaill.

OWHEN till the King of Ingland Wes tald how that, with stalward hand, Berwik wes tane, and stuffit syne With men and vittale and armyne,

And gert assembill hastely
His consale, and has tane to rede
That he his host wald thiddir leid,
And, with all mycht that he mycht get,

270 To the toune ane assege set,
And gert dik thame so stalwardly,
That, quhill thame likit thair to ly,
Thai suld fer out the traster be.
And gif the men of the cuntre

275 With strynth of men wald thame assale, At thair dykis in-to battale, Thai suld avantage have gretly, And thouch all suth, for gret foly War till assaill in-to fechting

280 At his dikis so stark a thing.

Quhen his consell on this maneir

Wes tane, he gert bath fer and neir

His host haly assemblit be:

A gret folk than with him had he

A gret folk than with him had he. 285 Of Lancister the Erll Thomas, That syne wes sanctit, as men sais,

271. C E gert. H gart. Skeat says these are "all wrong," and that the proper reading is ger. 285. E H Longcastill.

In-till his cumpany wes thar, And all the erllis als that war In Ingland worthy for to ficht, 290 And baronis als of mekill mycht, With him to that assege had he:

With him to that assege had he: And gert the schippes by the se Bring schot and othir apparale, With gret warnysing of vittale.

295 To Berwik with all this menyhe, With his bataillis arayit, come he; And till gret lordis, ilkane syndri, Ordanit ane felde for thar herbry. That men mycht se soyne palyheonis

300 Be stentit on syndry fassownys,
So feill that that a toune maid thair
Mair than bath toune and castell war.
On othir half syne, on the se,
The schippis com in sic plente,

305 With vittale, armyng, and with men, That all the havyn wes stoppit then.

> And quhen that that war in the toune Saw thair fais in sic foysoune By land and se cum sturdely,

310 Thai, as wicht men and richt worthy Schupe thame for till defend thar stede, That thai in aventur of dede Suld put thame, or than rusche agane Thar fais; for thair capitane

315 Tretit thame sa lusumly,
And thar-with-all the mast party
Of thame that armyt with hym wer,
War of his blude and sib him ner,
Or ellis thai war his allye.

320 Of sic confort men mycht thaim se, And of sa richt fair contenyng, As nane of thame had abasing.

296. C vittalis (S). H battels as in E. 318. C sib men (S).

BOOK XVII

On dayis arayit weill war thai, And on the nycht weill wachit ay. 325 Weill sex dais thai swa abaid, That thai na full gret bargane maid.

### How Walter Stewart was assailed in Berwick by the King of England.

I N-till this tym that I tell here,
That thai withouten bargane wer,
The Inglis-men sa closit had
330 Thar host with dikis at thai maid,
That thai war strynthit gretumly.

Syne with all handis besaly
Thai schupe thame with thar apparale
Thame of the toune for till assale.

335 And of our Ladeis evin Mary,
That bare the byrth that all can by,
That men callis hir Nativite,
Soyn in the mornyng men mycht se
The Inglis host arme thame in hy,

And display baneris sturdely;
And assemmyll till thar baneris
With instrumentis on seir maneris,
As scaffaldis, ledderis, and coveryngis,
Pykis, howis, and ek staff-slyngis;

345 Till ilk lord and his battale
Wes ordanit quhar he suld assale.
And thai within, quhen that thai saw
That menyhe raynge thame swa on raw,
Till thar wardis thai went in hy,

350 That war stuffit rycht stalwardly
With stanys, schot, and othir thing
That nedit till thair defending:
And in-to sic maner abaid
Thair fais that till assayl thame maid.

Quhen thai without war all redy, Thai trumpit till ane sawt in hy;

343. C scaffatis (S). H scaffolds.

And ilk man with his apparale, Quhar he suld be, went till assaile. Till ilk kyrneill that wes thair

360 Archeris till schute assignit war.
And quhen on this wis thai war boune,
Thai went in hy toward the toune,
And fillit dykis richt hastely,
Syne to the wallis hardely

365 Thai went with ledderis that thai haid;
Bot thai so gret defens has maid,
That war abovin apon the wall,
That oft ledderis, and men with-all,
Thai gert fall flatlynges to the grounde.

370 Than men mycht se in litill stound Men assalyheand richt hardely, Dressand up ledderis douchtely, And sum on ledderis pressand war; Bot thai that on the wall wes thar

Till all perellis can abandoune
Thame, till thair fais war doungyn doune.
At gret myschef defendit thai
Thair toune; for, gif we suth sall say,
The wallis of the toune than wer

380 Sa law, that a man with a sper Micht strike ane other up in the face. And the schot als so thik thar was That it wes wonder for till se. Walter Steward, with a menyhe,

385 Raid ay about, for to se quhar
That for till help mast myster war:
And quhar men pressit mast, he maid
Succoure till his that myster had.
The mekill folk that wes without

390 Haid enveronyt the toune about, Swa that na part of it wes fre. Thar mycht men the assailyheouris se Abandoune thame richt hardely; And the defendouris douchtely

395 With all thar mychtis can thame payne Till put thair fais fors agane.

On this wis thame contenit thai Quhill noyne wes passit of the day. Than thai that in the schippes war

400 Ordanit a schip with full gret far
Till cum with all hir apparale
Richt to the wall, for till assale.
Till myd-mast up thair bat thai drew,
With armyt men tharin inew:

405 A brig thai had for till lat fall Richt fra the bat apon the wall. With bargis by hir can thai row, And pressit thame full fast to tow Hir by the brighous to the wall:

410 On that entent that set thame all.

That brought hir quhill scho com weill neir:

Than mycht men se on seir maner

Sum men defend, and sum assale

Full besaly with gret travale.

That of the toune so weill thame bare,
That the schipmen sa handillit war,
That that the schip on na maner
Mycht ger cum till the wall so neir,
That thar fall-brig mycht reik thar-till,

420 So lang abaid thai fechtand still
Quhill that scho ebbit on the ground;
Than mycht men, in a litill stound,
Se thame be fer of war covyne
Than thai war eir, that war hir in.

425 And quhen the se wes ebbit sa,
That men all dry till hir mycht ga,
Out of the toune yschit in hy
Till hir a weill gret cumpany,
And fyre till hir has kendlyt soyne:

430 In-till schort tyme swa haf thai done,
That thai in fyre has gert hir bryn.
And sum war slayn that war hir in,
And sum fled and away are gane.
Ane engynour thair haf thai tane,

<sup>420.</sup> From C H. E For oucht thai mycht, gud or ill.

That sleast wes of that mister
That men wist outhir fer or ner;
In-to the toun syne enterit thai.
It fell thame happely, perfay,
That thai gat in so hastely;

In full gret hy up by the se,

Quhen thai the schip saw byrnand be.

Bot or thai com, the tothir war past,

The yhet thai barrit and closit fast.

445 That folk assalyheit fast that day, And thai within defendit ay On sic a wis, that thai that war With gret enfors assalyheand thar Mycht do thar will on na maner.

450 And quhen that evynsang-tym wes neir,
The folk without, that wer wery,
And sum woundit full cruelly,
Saw thame within defend thaim swa;
And saw it wes nocht eyth till ta

455 The toune, with sic defens wes maid By thaim, that it in stering had. The host saw that thar schip wes brynt, And of thame that thar-in war tynt, And thar folk woundit and wery;

460 Thai gert blaw the retret in hy.
Fra the schipmen reboytit war,
Thai let the tothir assale no mar;
For throu the schip thai wend ilkane
That thai the toune weill suld haf tane.

465 Men sais that ma schippis than swa Pressit that tyme the toune till ta; Bot for that thar wes brynt bot ane, And the gynour tharin wes tane. Now heir tharfor mencione maid I

470 Bot off a schip all anerly.

WHEN thai had blawen the ratret, Thai folk, that tholit had panys gret, 455. E quhill sik. H while. Withdrew thame haly fra the wall; The assalt haf thai levit all.

475 And thai within, that wery war,
And mony of thame woundit sar,
War blith and glad quhen at thai saw
Thair fais swagat thame withdraw.
And, fra thai wist suthly that thai

480 Held to thair palyheonys thair way,
Thai set gud wachis to thar wall;
Syne to thar innys went thai all,
And esyt thame that wery war.
And othir, that war woundit sar,

485 Had lechis gude forsuth, I hicht,
That helpit thame as thai best mycht.
On athir syde wery war thai;
That nycht thai did no mair perfay.
Fiff dayis thar-eftir thai war still,

490 That nane till othir did mekill ill.

Now leiff we thir folk heir liand
All still, as I haf borne on hand,
And turn the cours of our carpyng
Till Schir Robert the douchty King,
495 That assemblit bath fer and neir,
Ane host, quhen that he wist, but weir,
That the king swa of Ingland
Had assegit with stalward hand
Berwik, quhar Walter Steward was.
500 Till purpos with his men he tais,
That he wald nocht sa soyne assale
The King of Ingland with battale,
And at his dykis specially,
For it mycht weill turn to foly.
505 Tharfor he ordanit lordis twa,

Tharfor he ordanit lordis twa,
The Erll of Murreff wes ane of tha,
The tothir wes the Lord Dowglas,
With fyftene thousand men to pas
In Ingland, for till burn and sla,

510 And swa gret ryot thar till ma,

496. C that, quhen (S), but there is no predicate for that.

That thai that lay segande the toune, Quhen thai herd the distructione, That thai suld in till Ingland ma, Suld be sa dredand, and sa wa

515 For thair childir and for thair wiffis,
That thai suld dreid suld leis thar liffis,
And thar gudis alsua, that thai
Suld dreid than suld be had away,
That thai suld leif the sege in hy,

520 And wend to reskew hastely
Thair gude, thair frendis, and thair land.
Tharfor, as I haf borne on hand,
Thir lordis send he furth in hy;
And thai thair way tuk hastely,

525 And in Ingland gert byrn and sla, And wroucht tharin so mekill wa As thai forrayit the cuntre, That it wes pite for to se Till thame that wald it ony gude,

530 For thai distroyit all as thai yhude. So lang thai raid distroyande swa, As thai traversit to and fra, That thai ar cummyne till Repoune, And distroyit haly that toune.

535 At Burrow-brig syne thar herbry Thai tuk, and at Mytoun thar-by.

And quhen the men of that cuntre Saw thar land sa distroyit be, Thai gaderit, in-till full gret hy,

540 Archeris, burges, with yhemenry, Prestis, clerkis, monkis, and freris, Husbandis, and men of all mysteris, Quhill at thai sammyn assemmyllit war Weill tuenty thousand men and mair.

545 Richt gud armyng eneuch thai had.
The archbischop of York thai maid
Thair capitane; and to consale
Has tane, that thai in playn battale
Wald assale the Scottis men,

- 550 That fer fewar than thai war then.
  Than he displayit his baneir,
  And othir bischoppes, that thar wer,
  Gert display baneris alsua.
  All in a rout furth can thai ga
- 555 Toward Mytoune the reddy way; And quhen that Scottis men herd say That thai war till thame cumand neir, Thai buskit thame on thar best maneir, And delit thame in-till battellis twa.
- 560 Dowglas the vaward he can ma; The reirward maid the Erll Thomas, For chiftane of the host he was. And, sua ordanit in gude aray, Toward thair fais thai held their way.

565 Quhen athir had of othir sicht,
Thai pressit on bath halfis to ficht.
The Inglis men com on sadly
With gud contenans and hardy,
Rycht in a frount with a baner,

570 Quhill thai thair fayis com so neir, That thai thar visage weill mycht se. Thre sper-lynth, I trow weill, mycht be Betuix thame, quhen sic abasing Tuk thame, but mar, in-to a swyng,

575 Thai gaf the bak all, and to-ga.

Quhen Scottis men has seyn thame swa
Affrayitly fle all thar way,
In gret hy apon thame schot thai,
And slew and tuk a gret party.

580 The laiff fled full effrayitly
As that best mycht, to seik warrand.
That war chassit so neir at hand,
That weill ane thousand deit thar;
And of thaim yheit thre hundreth war

585 Prestis, that deit in-to that chas. Tharfor that bargane callit was "The Chaptour of Mytoune;" for thare Slayn sa mony prestis ware. 590 WHEN thir folk thus discumfit was,
And Scottis men had left the chas,
Thai went thame furthwarde in the land
Slayand, distroyand, and byrnand,
And thai that at the sege lay,
Or it wes passit the fift day,

595 Had made thame syndry apparale
To gang eftsonis till assale.
Of gret gestis ane Sow thai maid,
That stalward heling owth it had,
With armyt men enew thar-in,

600 And instrumentis als for to myne.
Syndry scaffaldis thai maid with-all,
That war weill hyar than the wall,
And ordanit als that by the se
The toune suld weill assalyheit be.

605 And thai within, that saw thame swa So gret apparale schap till ma, Throu Crabbis consale, that wes sle, Ane cren thai haif gert dres up hey Rynand on quhelis, that thai mycht bring

610 It quhar neid war of mast helping.
And pik and ter als haf thai tane,
And lynt and hardis with brynstane,
And dry treis that weill wald brin;
And mellit syne athir othir in:

615 And gret flaggatis tharof thai maid, Gyrdit with irne bandis braid. Of thai flaggatis mycht mesurit be Till a gret tunnys quantite. Thai flaggatis byrnand in a baill

620 With thair cren thoucht thai till availl.
And gif the Sow come to the wall,
Till lat thame byrnand on hir fall,
And with ane stark cheyne hald thame thar
Quhill all war brint up that thar war.

625 Engynys alsua for till cast Thai ordanit, and maid redy fast,

601. C scaffatis (S).

And set ilk man syne till his ward. And Schir Walter, the gude Steward, With armyt men suld ryde about,

630 And se quhar at thar war mast dout;
And succur thar with his menyhe.
And quhen thai in-to sic degre
Had maid thame for thair asaling,
On the Rude-evyn, in the dawing,

635 The Inglis host blew till assale.

Than mycht men with ser apparale
Se that gret host cum sturdely;
The toune enveremyt thai in hy,
And assalit with sa gud will,

640 For all thair mycht thai set thar-till,
That thai thame pressit fast of the toune.
Bot thai, that can thame abandoune
Till ded, or than till woundis sare,
Sa weill has thame defendit thare,

645 That ledderis to the ground thai flang, And with stanys so fast thai dang Thair fais, that feill thai left lyand, Sum ded, sum hurt, and sum swonand.

Bot thai that held on fut in hy
650 Drew thame away deliverly,
And skunnyrrit tharfor na-kyn thing,
Bot went stoutly till assalyng.
And thai abovin defendit ay,
And set thame till so harde assay,

655 Quhill that feill of thame woundit war: And thai so gret defens maid thar, That thai styntit thair fais mycht. Apon sic maner can thai ficht, Quhill it wes neir noyne of the day;

660 Than thai without, in gret aray,
Pressit thair Sow toward the wall;
And thai within weill soyne gert call
The engynour that takyne was,
And gret manans till him mais;

And swoir that he suld de, bot he Provit on the Sow sic sutelte,

That he to-fruschyt hir ilke deill. And he, that has persavit weill That the dede wes weill neir hym till,

670 Bot gif he mycht fulfill thar will, Thought that he all his mycht wald do; Bendit in gret hy than wes scho, And till the Sow wes evin set. In hye he gert draw the cleket,

675 And smertly swappit out the stane That evyn out-our the Sow is gane, And behynd hir a litill we It fell, and than that cryit hey That war in hir, "Furth to the wall.

680 "For dreidles it is ouris all!" The engynour that deliverly Gert bend the gyne in full gret hy, And the stane smertly swappit out:

It flaw out, quhedirand, with a rout, 685 And fell richt evin befor the Sow. Thair hertis than begouth till grow; Bot yheit than, with thair mychtis all,

That pressit the Sow toward the wall, And has hir set thar-to juntly.

690 The gynour than gert bend in hy The gyne, and wappyt out the stane, That evin toward the lift is gane, And with gret wecht syne duschit doune Richt by the wall, in a randoune,

695 And hyt the Sow in sic maner, That it, that wes the mast summer And starkast for till stynt a strak, In-sundir with that dusche he brak. The men ran out in full gret hy,

700 And on the wallis that can cry, That thair Sow ferryit wes thair. Johne Crab, that had his geir all yhar, In his fagattis has set the fyre, And our the wall syne can thame vyre,

689. C juntly (S), but suggesting justly (=exactly) as right reading. H cunningly. Egentilly. 691. C swappit (S).

705 And brynt the Sow till brandis bair.
 With all this, fast assalyheand war
 The folk without with felloune ficht,
 And thai within with mekill mycht
 Defendit manfully thar stede,
 710 In-till gret aventur of dede.

The schipmen, with gret apparale, Com with thair schippes till assale, With top-castellis warnist weill, And wicht men armyt in-till steill.

715 Thair batis up apon thair mastis
Drawyn weill hye and festnyt fast is,
And pressit with that gret atour
Toward the wall, bot the gynour
Hit in ane espyne with a stayne,

720 And the men that war thar-in gane, Sum dede, sum dosnyt, come doun wyndland. Fra thine-furth durst nane tak on hand With schippes pres thame to the wall. Bot the laiff war assalyheand all

725 On ilka syde sa egyrly,
That certis it wes gret ferly,
That thai folk sic defens has maid,
For the gret myscheif that they had.
For thair wallis so law than weir,

730 That a man richt weill with a sper Micht strik ane othir up in the face, As eir befor tald till yhow was. And feill of thame war woundit sare, And the layf so fast travaland war,

735 That nane had tume rest for till ta, Thair adversouris assailyheit swa.

Thai war within sa stratly stad That thar wardane, that with him had Ane hundreth men in cumpany 740 Armyt, that wicht war and hardy, And raid about for till se quhar That his folk hardest pressit war, To relief thame that had mister, Com syndry tymes in placis ser

745 Quhar sum of the defensouris war All dede, and othir woundit sare; Swa that he of his cumpany Behufit to leiff thair party: Swa that, be he a cours had maid

750 About, of all the men he had
Thar wes levit with him bot ane,
That he ne had thame left ilkane
To releve quhar he saw mister.
And the folk, that assalyheand wer

755 At Mary-yhet, to-hewyn had
The barras, and a fyre had maid
At the draw-brig, and brynt it doune;
And war thringand in gret foysoune
Rycht to the yhet ane fyre till ma.

760 Than thai within gert smertly ga
Ane to the wardane, for till say
How thai war set in hard assay.
And quhen Schir Walter Steward herd
How men sa stratly with thame ferd,

765 He gert cum of the castell then All that war thar of armyt men, For thar that day assalyheit nane, And with that rout in hy is gane To Mary-yhet, and till the wall

770 Is went, and saw the myscheif all: And umbethoucht him suddandly Bot gif gret help war set in hy Thar-to, thai suld burne up the yhet That fra the wall thai suld nocht let.

775 Tharfor apon gret hardyment He suddanly set his entent; And gert all wyde set up the yhet, And the fyre that he fand thar-at

774. C and H (S). With the fire that he fand thar-at. Seems an anticipation of 778. Text from E.

With strinth of men he put away.
780 He set him in full hard assay;
For thai that war assalyheand thar
Pressit on hym with wapnys bair,
And he defendit with all his mycht.
Thar mycht men se a felloune sicht,
785 With staffing, stoking, and striking.
Thar maid thai sturdy defending;
For with gret strynth of men the yhet
Thai defendit, and stude thar-at,
Magre thair fais, quhill the nycht
790 Gert thame on bath halfis leif the ficht.

"HAI of the host, guhen nycht can fall, Fra the assalt with-drew thame all, Woundit, and wery, and forbeft. With mate cher the assalt thai left, 795 And till thar innys went in hy And set thar wachis hastely. The laif thame esit as that mycht best; For that had gret myster of rest. That nycht thai spak al comonly 800 Of thame within, and had ferly That thai sa stout defens has maid Agane the gret assalt thai had. And that within, on other party, Quhen thai thair fayis so halely 805 Saw thame withdraw, thai war all blith, And wachis has ordanit swith; And syne ar till thar innys gane. Thar wes bot few of thame wes slaine. Bot feill war woundit wikidly, 810 The laiff our mesur war wery. It wes ane hard assalt, perfay, And certis, I hard nevir say Quhar quheyn men mair defens had maid, That swa richt hard assalyheing had.

785. E Off stabing. 809. E woundyt uttrely. 812. C certanly, but E is admittedly better.

815 And of a thing that thair befell
I haf ferly, that I of tell;
That is, that in-till all that day,
Quhen all thair mast assalyheit thai,
And the schot thikkest wes with-all,

820 Women with child and childir small
In arme-fullis gaderit up, and bair
Till thame that on the wallis war
Arowes, and nocht ane slayne wes thar,
Na yheit woundit; and that wes mar

825 The myrakill of God Almychty, And to nocht ellis it set can I.

> On athir syde that nycht thai war All still, and on the morne, but mar, Thar come tithandis out of Ingland,

830 Till thame of the host, that bare on hand How that by Borrow-brig and Mytoune Thair men war slayne and dungin doune; And at Scottis-men throu-out the land Raid yheit byrnand and distroyand.

835 And quhen the King has herd this taill, His consell he assemblit haill, Till se quhethir farar war him till Till ly about the toune all still, And assaill quhill it wonnyne war,

840 Or than in Ingland for till fare
And reskew his land and men.
His consell fast discordit then;
For Southren men wald that he maid
Arest thar, quhill he wonnyn had

845 The toune and the castell alsua.

Bot Northir men wald no-thing swa,
That dred thar friendis for till tyne,
And mast part of thar gudis syne
Throu Scottis mennys cruelte;

850 Thai wald he leit the sege be
And raid for till reskew the land.
Of Longcastell, I tak on hand,
The Erll Thomas wes ane of thai
That consalit the King hame to ga.

855 And, for that mair enclynit he
Till the folk of the south cuntre
Than till the northir mennys will,
He tuk it to sa mekill ill
That he gert turs his geir in hy,

320

860 And with his batall halely,
That of the host neir thrid part was,
Till Ingland hame his way he tais.
But leift he hame has tane his gat:
Tharfor fell eftir sic debat

865 Betuix him and the King, that ay
Lestit quhill Androu Herdclay,
That throu the King wes on him set,
Tuk hym syne in to Pomfret,
And on the hill besyde the toune

870 Strake of his hede but ransoune;
Tharfor syne drawin and hangit wes he,
And with him weill a fair menyhe.
Men said syne eftir, this Thomas,
That on this wis maid martir was,

875 Was sanctit and myraclis did, Bot envy syne gert thame be hid. Bot quhethir he haly wes or nane, At Pomfret thusgat was he slane. And syne the King of Ingland,

880 Quhen that he saw hym tak on hand Till pass his way sa oppinly, Hym thoucht it wes perell to ly Thar with the laiff of his menyhe; And his harnas tursit has he

885 And in-till Ingland hame can far.
The Scottis men, that distroyand war
In Ingland, herd soyne tell tithyng
Of this gret sege the departing.

887, 888. H expands these two lines into eight.

Throughout England full cruelly, Burning and wasting right rigorously, When that they have heard tythings tell of this great Siege that was sa fell: That they all skailed were and gane, Unto England hame againe;

Tharfor thai tuk westward the way, 890 And by Carlele hame went ar thai With prayis and with presoneris, And other gudis on seir maneris. The lordis till the King ar gane, And the laiff has thar wayis tane; 895 Ilk man till his repair is gane. The King, iwis, was woundir fayne That thai war cummyn haile and feir, And at thai sped on sic maner, That thai thair fais discumfit had, 900 And, but tynsale of men, had maid Reskowris to thame that in Berwik War assegit richt till thar dik. And quhen the Kyng had sperit tithand How that had faryne in-till Ingland, 905 And that haf tald hym all thar fair, How Inglis men discumfit war,

BERWIK wes on this maner Reskewit, and that that thar-in wer. He wes worthy ane prince till be, Throu manheid and subtilite, That couth throu wit sa hye a thyng, But tynsale, bryng till gude ending. 915 Till Berwik syne the way he tais: And guhen he herd thar how it was

Richt blith in-till his hert wes he,

And maid thame fest with gammyn and gle.

Sa that their folks relieved were And set now free from all danger.

Skeat relegates this expansion of two lines to a footnote, and rightly.

\*903 That into full gret danger wes,

\*904 Through strength of them that sieged hes. \*905 And of their journey what progresse,

\*906 That thai have had, and with successe.

These, too, are from H only. Skeat brackets them in the text, but they are surely spurious.

Defendit swa richt apertly, He lovit thame that war thar gretly. Walter Stewardis gret bounte

920 Atour the laif commendit he,
For the richt gret defens he maid
At the yhet, quhar men brynt had
The brig, as yhe herd me devis.
And certis he wes weill till pris,

925 That sa stoutly with playne feething
At oppyn yhet maid defending.
Mycht he haf lifit quhill he had beyne
Of perfit elde, withouten weyne,
His renoune suld haf strekit fer.

930 Bot dede, that wachis ay to mar With all hyr mycht waik and worthy, Had at his worschip gret invy; That in the flour of his yhoutheid Scho endit all his douchty deid,

935 As I sall tell yhow forthirmar.

Quhen the King had a quhill beyne thar
He send for masonis fer and neir,
That sleast wes of that misteir,
And gert weill ten fute hye the wall

940 About Berwikis toune our all.
And syne soyne toward Lowdyane
With his menyhe his gat has gane;
And syne he gert ordane in hy
Bath armyt men and yhemanry

945 In-till Irland in hy till fair
Till help his brothir that wes thair.

#### BOOK XVIII.

### How Sir Edward the Bruce was slain in Ireland.

Bot he, that rest anoyit ay,
And wald in travaill be all-way,
A day forrouth thair arivyng
That war send till hym fra the King,

922 C quhar that. E H omit that. 940 C Berwyk his (see note).

5 He tuk his way south-wart to fare Magre them all that with hym war. For he had nocht than in that land Of all men, I trow, twa thousand, Outane the kyngis off Erischry

Toward Dundawk he tuk the way:
And quhen Richard of Clare herd say
That he com with ane few menyhe,
All that he mycht assemblit he,

15 Of all Irland, of armyt men: Swa that he had thar with him then Of trappit hors tuenty thousand, But thaim that war on fut gangand; And held furth northwarde on his way.

20 And quhen Schir Edward has herd say
That cummyn neir till hym wes he,
He send discurrouris hym till se:
The Sowlis and the Steward war thai,
And als Schir Philip the Mowbray.

25 And quhen thai seyn had thar cummying,
Thai went agane to tell the King,
And said weill thai war mony men.
In hie Schir Edward ansuered then,

And said that he suld fecht that day 30 Thouch tryplit or quadruplit war thai. Schir Johne Steward said, "Sekirly,

"I red ye nocht ficht in sic hy.

"Men sais my brothir is cumand "With fyftene hundreth men neir hand;

35 "And war thai knyt with yhow, yhe mycht "The trastlyar abyde to ficht."
Schir Edward lukit richt angrely,

And till the Sowlis said in hy, 'Quhat sais thou?' "Schir," he said, "perfay,

40 "As my fallow has said, I say."
And than till Schir Philippe than said he,
"Schir," said he, "sa our Lord me se!

5. C furthwarde (S). H southward,
30. E tribill and quatribill.
34. E thowsand, H as in C.
21—2

Me think it na foly to byde

"Yhour men, that spedis thame to ryde.

45 " For we ar few, our fais ar feill;

"God may rycht weill our weirdis deill;

"Bot it war woundir that our mycht

"Suld ourcum so feill in ficht."

Than, with gret ire, 'Allas,' said he,

50 'I wend nevir till here that of the!

'Now help quha will, for sekirly

'This day, but mair baid, fecht will I.

'Sa na man say, quhill I may dre,

'That strynth of men sall ger me fle!

55 'God scheld that ony suld us blame,

'That we defoull our noble name.'

"Now be it swagat than," quod thai,

"We sall tak that God will purvay."

And quhen the kyngis of Erischry

60 Herd say, and wist all sekirly,
That that King, with sa quheyn, wald ficht
Agane folk of sa mekill mycht,
Thai come till him in full gret hy,
And consalit hym full tendirly

65 For till abid his men; and thai
Suld hald that fais all that day

Suld hald thar fais all that day Doand, and on the morne alsua, With thar saltis that thai suld ma. Bot thair mycht na consel availl,

70 He wald all-gat haff the battaill. And quhen thai saw he wes so thra To fecht, thai said; "Yhe may weill ga "To ficht with yhon gret cumpany;

"Bot we acquyt us utirly,

75 "That nane of us will stand to ficht, "Assuris nocht tharfor in our mycht. "For our maner is of this land

"To follow and ficht, and ficht fleand,

"And nocht till stand in plane melle 80 "Quhill the ta part discumfit be." He said; 'Sen that your custum is, 'Ik ask no mair at yhow bot this, 'That is, that yhe and yhour menyhe 'Wald all to-giddir arayit be,

85 'And stand on fer, but departing, 'And se our ficht and our endyng.' Thai said weill at thai suld do swa, And syne toward thair men can ga, That war weill forty thousand neir.

90 Edward, with thame that with him weir. That war nocht fully twa thousand, Arayit thame stalwardly till stand Agane fourty thousand and ma. Schir Edward that day wald nocht ta

95 His cot-armour; bot Gib Harper, That men held als withouten peir Of his estat, had on that day All haill Schir Edwardis aray. The ficht abaid that on this wis;

100 And in gret hy thair enymys Com, till assemmyll all reddy, And that met thame right hardely. Thai war sa few, forsuth to say, That ruschit with thair fais war thai;

105 And that that pressit mast to stand War slane doune, and the remanand Fled till Erischry for succour. Schyr Edward, that had sic valour, Wes ded, and Johne Steward alsua;

110 And Johne de Sowlis als with thai, And other als of thair cumpany. Thai vencust war sa suddanly That few in-till the place war slayne; For the laif has thair wayis tane

115 Till the Erische kyngis that wes thar, And in haill battale howard war.

Johne Tomassun, that wes leder Of thame of Carrik that thair wer, 89. E twenty. H twettie (1). 117. E Thomas sone. H Thomson. Quhen he saw the discumfiting,

120 With-drew him till ane Erische king

That of his acquyntans had he;

And he resavit him in lawte.

And quhen Johne cummyn wes to that king,

He saw be led fra the fechting

125 Schir Philipe the Mowbray, the wicht,
That had beyne doysnyt in the ficht.
And be the armys led was he
With twa men, apon the cawse
That wes betuix thame and the toune,

130 That strekit lang in a randoune.

Toward the toune thai held thair way,
And quhen in myd cawse war thai,
Schir Philip of his desynais
Ourcome, and persavit he wes

Tane, and swagat led with twa:
The tane he swappit soyne him fra,
And syne the tothir in gret hy;
Syne drew his suerde deliverly,
And till the fecht the way he tais

Fillit in-to sa gret foysoune
Of men that than went to the toune.
And he, that met thame, can thame ma
Sic payment, quhar he can ga,

145 That weill ane hundreth men gert he Leiff, magre thairis, the cawsee;
As Johne Tomassun said suthly,
That saw his deid all halely.
Toward the battall evyn he yheid.

That thai war vencust all planly, Cryit on hym in full gret hy, And said, "Cum heir, for thar is nane "On liff, for thai ar dede ilkane"

155 Than stude he still a quhile, and saw That thai war all done out of daw; Syne went toward him sarraly. This Johne wroucht syne sa wittely That all that thidder fled than wer,
160 Thouch that thai lesit of thair ger,
Com till Cragfergus haill and feir.
And thai, that at the fechting weir
Soucht Schir Edward, to get his hede,
Emange the folk that thar wes ded;

And fand Gib Harper in his ger:
And, for sa gude his armys wer,
Thai strak his hed of; and syne it
Thai haf gert saltit in-till a kyt,
And send it syne in-till Ingland,

170 To Edward King in-till presand.
Thai wend Schir Edwardis it had beyne;
Bot, for the armyng that wes scheyne,
Thai of the hed dissavit war,
All-thouch Schir Edward deit thar.

Throu wilfulnes all losit then;
And that wes syn and gret pite.
For had thair outrageous bounte
Beyne led with wit and with mesure,

180 Bot gif the mair misadventure
Befell thame, it suld richt hard thing
Be till leid thame till outrayng.
Bot gret outrageous succudry
Gert thame all deir thair worschip by.

185 And thai, that fled fra the melle, Sped thame in hy toward the se, And to Cragfergus cummyn ar thai. And thai that war in-to the way, To Schir Edward send fra the King,

190 Quhen thai herd the discumfiting, Till Cragfergus thai went agane: And that wes nocht forouten pane. For thai war mony tymes that day Assalit with Erischry, bot thai

195 Ay held to-gidder sarraly, Defendand thame so wittely

184. E all her,

That thai eschapit oft throu mycht, And mony tymes als throu slycht; For oft of thairis till thame gaf thai 200 Till let thame scathles pass thar way, And to Cragfergus com thai swa. Than batis and schippes can that ta, And salit till Scotland in hy, And thar arivit all saufly.

205 Ouhen thai of Scotland had wittering Of Schir Edwardis discomfiting, Thai menyt hym full tendrely Our all the land comonly: And thai that with him slane war thar

210 Full tendrely als menyt war.

How King Edward came again to Scotland with his Power, to Edinburgh, after the Death of Good Sir Edward the Bruce in Ireland.

E DWARD the Bruce, as I said air, Wes discumfit on this manare. And guhen the feld wes clengit cleyne, Sa that na resisteris wes seyne, 215 The wardane than, Richard of Clare,

And all the folk that with him war, Toward Dundawk has tane the way: Swa that richt na debat maid thai At that tyme with the Erischrye,

220 Bot to the toune thai held in hy. And syne has send furth to the King, That Ingland had in governing, Gib Harperis hed in-till ane kyt. Johne Mawpas till the King had it.

225 Quhilk he resavit in gret dayntee; Richt blith of that present wes he; For he was swa glad that he wes swa Deliverit of sic felloune a fa. In hert tharof he tuk sic pryde,

230 That he tuk purpos for to ryde

225, E And he it (see note).

With a gret host in-till Scotland, Till revenge hym, with stalward hand, Of the tray, travaill, and of teyne That done till hym thar-in had beyne.

And a richt gret hoost gaderit he,
And gert his schippes by the se
Cum with gret foysoune of vittale;
For at that tyme he thoucht all hale
For till distroy so cleyn Scotland

240 That nane suld be thar-in liffand; And with his folk, in gret aray, Toward Scotland he tuk the way. And quhen King Robert wist that he Com on hym with sic ane menyhe,

245 He gaderit men, bath fer and neir,
Quhill sa feill till him cummyn weir,
And war als for till cum hym to,
That him weill thoucht he suld weill do.
He gert with-draw all the catele

250 Of Lowdiane, evirilk deill,
And till strynthis gert thame be send,
And ordanit men thame to defend.
And with his hoost all still he lay
At Culros, for he walde assay

255 Till ger his fais throu fasting Be feblist, and throu lang walking; And fra he feblist had thair mycht Assemmyll he wald with thame till ficht.

He thoucht till wirk apon this wis;
260 And Inglis men with gret mastris
Com with thar hoost in Lowdiane,
And soyne till Edinburgh ar gane,
And thair abaid thai dayis thre.
Thair schippes that war on the se
265 Had the wynd contrar till thame ay,

Swa that apon no maner thai
Had power till the Fyrth till bring
Thair vittale, till releiff the King.

239. E To dystroy up sa clene the land. H as C.

And thai of the host that falit met,
270 Quhen thai saw that thai mycht nocht get
Thair vittalis to thame by the se,
Than send thai furth a gret menyhe
For till forray all Lowdiane;
Bot cattell haf thai fundyn nane,

275 Outane a kow that wes haltand,
That in Tranentis corne thai fand;
Thai broucht hir till thair hoost agane.
And quhen the Erll of Warane

That cow saw anerly cum swa, 280 He askit gif thai gat no ma. And thai haf said all till him, "Nay." "Than, certis," said he, "I dar say

"This is the derrest beiff that I "Saw evir yheit; for sekirly

285 "It cost ane thousand pund and mar!"
And quhen the King and thai that war
Of his consell saw thai mycht get
Na catell till thar host till et,
That than of fasting had gret payne,

At Melros schupe thai for till ly,
And send befor ane cumpany,
Thre hundreth neir of armyt men.
Bot the lord Dowglas, that wes then

295 Besyde in-till the Forest neir,
Wist of thar com and quhat thai weir;
And with thame of his cumpany
In-till Melros all prevely
He hufit in-till ane enbuschement.

300 And a richt sturdy frer he sent
Without the yhet, thar com till se,
And bad him hald him all preve,
Quhill that he saw thame cumand all
Richt till the cunyhe of the wall,

305 And than crye hye, "Dowglas! Dowglas!"

The frer furth than his way he tais,

That wes derff, stout, and ek hardy; His mekill hude helit haly The armyng that he on hym had; 310 Apon a stalward hors he raid, And in his hand he had a spere, Abydand apon that maner Quhill that he saw thame cumand neir. And quhen the formast passit weir 315 The cunyhe, he cryit, "Dowglas! Dowglas!" Than till thame all ane cours he mais. And bare ane doune deliverly; And Dowglas, with his cumpany, Yschit apon thame with a schout. 320 And quhen thai saw sa gret a rout Cum apon thame sa suddanly, Thai war abaysit richt gretumly, And gaf the bak but mar abaid. The Scottis men emang thaim raid, 325 And slew all thaim thai mycht ourta; Ane gret martirdome thair can thai ma. And that that eschapit unslayne Ar till thar gret host went agane, And tald thame quhat kyn welcummyng 330 Dowglas thaim maid at thair metyng, Convoyand thame agane roydly, And warnyt thame the playn herbery.

# How the Good King Robert the Bruce followed King Edward of England South into his own Land.

THE King of Ingland and his men,
That saw thair herbreouris then
335 Cum reboytit on that maneir
Anoyit gretly in hert thai wer,
And thoucht that it war gret foly
In-to the wode till tak herbery.
Tharfor by Driburgh, in the playne,
340 Thai herbryit thame; and syne agane
Ar went till Ingland haym thar way.
And quhen the King Robert herd say

That thai war turnyt hame agane, And how thair herbreouris war slane,

And how than herbreouris war stane
345 In hy his host assemblit he,
And went south our the Scottis Se,
And till Ingland his way he tais.
Quhen his host all assemblit was,
Auchty thowsand he wes and ma,

350 And aucht battellis he maid of tha: In ilk battell wes ten thousand. Syne went he furth on to Ingland, And in hale rout followit sa fast The Inglis King, quhill at the last

355 He com approchand to Byland, Quhar, at that tyme, thar wes liand The King of Ingland with his men. Kyng Robert, that had wittering then That he lay thair with mekill mycht,

360 Tranontit swa on hym ane nycht,
That, be the morne that it wes day,
Cummyn in-till playn feld war thai,
Fra Biland bot ane litill space.
Bot betuix thaim and it thar was

365 Ane craggy bra, strekit weill lang, And a gret peth up for to gang. Othirwayis mycht thai nocht away Till pass till Bilandis abbay, Bot gif thai passit fer about.

370 And quhen the mekill Inglis rout
Herd at King Robert wes so neir,
The mast part of thame that thar weir
Went to the path and tuk the bra,
Thair thought thai thair defens to ma.

375 Thair baneris thair thai gert display
And thair battellis on breid aray,
And thoucht weill to defend the place.
Quhen King Robert persavit has
That thai thame thoucht thair to defend,

380 Eftir his consell has he send,

And askit quhat wes best till do. The lord Dowglas ansuerd thar-to, And said, "Schir, I will undir-ta "That in schort tyme I sall do swa,

385 "That I sall wyn yhon place planly,
"Or than ger all yhon cumpany
"Cum doun till yhow heir in this plane."
The King than said till him agane,
'Do than,' he said, 'and God the speid!'

390 Than he furth on his wayis yheid,
And of the host the mast party
Put thame in-till his cumpany,
And held thar way toward the plas.

The gud Erll of Murreff, Thomas,

395 Left his battell, and in gret hy
Bot with thre men of his cumpany,
Com till the lordis rout of Dowglas;
And, or he enterit in the plas,
Befor thame all the place tuk he;

400 For he wald that men suld him se.
And quhen Schir James of Dowglas
Saw that he swagat cummyn was,
He prisit him thar-of gretly,
And welcummyt hym full humylly,

405 And syne the place can sammyn ta.

Quhen Inglis men saw thaim do swa,
Thai lichtit and agane thame yheid.

Twa knychtis, that douchty war of deid,
Thomas Ouchtre ane hat to name,

410 The tothir Schir Rauf of Cobhame, Com doune befor all thair menyhe. Thai war bath of full gret bounte, And met thair fais richt manly; Bot thai war pressit gretumly.

415 Thair mycht men se men weill assale, And men defend with stout battale,

391. E mast hardy. 396. E four. H. few. 404. E hamlyly. 409. C Arthyn (S), but see note. 399, 405, 425. E the pass. H as C.

410, 422. C Coubane: H Cowbane.

And arrowes fle in gret foysoune, And that that owth war tummyl doune Stanis apon thame fra the hicht.

420 Bot that that set bath will and mycht
To wyn the peth, thame pressit swa,
That Schir Raulf of Cobhame can ta
The way richt till his host in hy,
And left Schir Thomas manfully

425 Defendand with gret mycht the plas, Quhill that he swa supprisit was, That he wes tane throu herd fechting. And tharfor syne, quhill his ending, He wes renownyt for best of hand

430 Of a knycht wes in all Ingland.
For this ilk Schyr Raulf of Cobhame,
In all Ingland he had the name
For the best knycht of all the land;
And for Schir Thomas duelt fechtand

435 Quhar Schir Raulf, as befor saide we, With-drew him, prisit our hym wes he.

# The discomfiting of Englishmen At Bylands Path into the glen.

THUS war thai fechtande in the plas;
And quhen the King Robert, that was
Wis in his deid and averty,

The peth apon thair fayis ta;
And saw his fais defend thame swa,
Than gert he all the Erischry
That war in-till his cumpany,

445 Of Argyle and the Ilis alsua,
Spede tham in hy on-to the bra:
He bad thame leiff the peth haly
And clym up in the craggis by,
And speid thame fast the hicht to ta.

450 And that in gret hy has done swa,

439. C ek verty (S). 450. E Than mycht men see thaim stoutly ga. H like C. And clymb allgait up to the hycht, And leve nocht for thair fayis mycht. Magre thair fayis, thai bar thaim swa, That thai ar gottyn aboun the bra.

And rusche thair fais sturdely.

And thai that till the pass war gane,
Magre thair fais, the hycht has tane.

Than layd thai on with all thar mycht:

460 Thair mycht men se men felly ficht.
Ther wes ane perelus bargane:
For a knycht, hat Schir Johne Bretane,
That lichtit wes abovyn the bra,
With his men gret defens can ma.

465 And Scottis men sa can assaill,
That gaf thame so felloune battale,
That thai war set in sic affray
That thai, that fle mycht, fled away.
Schir Johne of Bretane thar wes tane,

470 And richt feill of his folk war slane.
Of Frans thar tane wes knychtis twa;
The lord of Souly wes ane of tha,
The tothir wes the marschall Bretane,
That wes a weill gret lord at hame.

475 The laiff sum deid and sum war tane,
The remanand thai fled ilkane.

And quhen the King of Ingland, That yheit at Biland wes liand, Saw his men discumfyt planly,

480 He tuk his way in full gret hy,
And southwardis fled with all his mycht.
The Scottis men chast hym herd, I hycht,
And in the chas has mony tane.
The king quytly away is gane,

485 And the mast part of his menyhe. Walter Stewart, that gret bounte Set ay on hye chevelry, With fyve hundreth in cumpany,

451-454. not in C but in E H. 451. H clamb (S). 452. H left (S.

Till Yorkis yhettis chas can ma,
490 And thair sum of thair men can sla,
And abaid thair quhill neir the nycht,
To se gif ony wald ysche to ficht.
And quhen he saw nane wald cum out,
He turnyt agane with all his rout,

495 And till the host is went in hy,
That than tane had thair herbery
In-till the abbay of Biland
And Riveus that wes by neir hand.
Thai delt emang thame that war ther

500 The King of Inglandis ger,
That he had levit in-to Biland;
All gert thai lepe out our thar hand,
And maid thame all glaid and ek mery.
And quhen the King had tane herbery,

505 That brought till him the presoneris All unarmyt, as it efferis; And quhen he saw Johne of Bretane He had at hym right gret disdeyne; For he wount wes to spek hely

510 At hayme, and our dispitfully;
And bad haf him away in hy,
And luk he kepit war stratly,
And said, "War it nocht that he war
"Sic a catiff, he sulde by sair

515 "His wourdis that war sa angry;"
And mekly he hym cryit mercy.
Thai led him furth, forouten mair,
And kepit hym weill ay quhill thai war
Cummyn hame to their awne cuntre.

520 Lang eftir syne ransonyt wes he For tuenty thousand pund to pay, As I haf herd mony men say.

OWHEN that the King this spek had maid, The Franche knychtis, that tane men had, 525 Wes broucht richt thar byfor the King; And he maid thame fair welcummyng,

498. E Ryfuowis.

And said; '

" For yhour g et we,

" Com for till se the fic

530 "For sen yhe in the cun

"Yhour strinth, yhour wor.
mycht

"Wald nocht thoill yhow esch.

"And sen that caus yhow led the

"And nouthir wreth na evil will,

535 "As frendis yhe sall resavit be,
"Quhar welcum heir all tym be yhe."
Thai knelit, and thankit him gretly,
And he gert tret thame curtasly;
And lang quhill with him thaim had he,

540 And did thaim honour and bounte.
And quhen thai yharnyt to thair land,
To the King of Fraunce in presand
He sent thaim quit, but ransoun fre,
And gret gyftis to thaim gaff he.

545 His frendis thusgat curtasly
He couth ressave, and hamely,
And his fais stoutly to-stonay.
At Biland all that nycht he lay.
For thair victor all blith thai war.

550 And on the morn, forouten mair,
Thai haff furthwarde tane thair way.
So fer at that tyme travalit thai,
Byrnand, slayand, and distroyand,
Thair fayis with thair mycht noyand,

555 Quhill to the Wald cummyn war thai. Syne northwarde tuk thai hame thar way; And distroyit, in thair repair, The vale haly of Beauvare.

And syne with presoners and catele, 560 Riches, and mony fair jowele,

536. C yhe be (S). Buss considers E better here (Anglia ix. 511). 537. For next line C has—Of the grace he thame did suthly (S). But this gives a triple rhyme, which is not Barbour-like; and C, in any case, is defective here, giving but one line between 538 and 547 for the eight found in E and H.

yfull and gay.

ent to thair repair,

d thame fell so fair,

me King of Ingland,

orschip and throu strinth of hand,

rou thair lordis gret bounte,

amfit in his awne cuntre.

#### BOOK XIX.

How the Lord Soulis thought through Treason with his Accomplices to have put down Good King Robert the Bruce, and how he was warned by a Lady.

THAN wes the land a quhile in pes;
Bot covatis, that can nocht ces
Till set men apon felony,
Till ger thame cum till senyhory,
Gert lordis of full gret renoune
Mak a fell conjuracioune
Agane Robert, the douchty King;
Thai thoucht till bring him till ending,
And for till bruke, eftir his dede,
The kynrik, and ryng in his sted.
The lord of Sowlis, Schir Wilyhame,
Of that purchas had mast defame;
For principall tharoff wes he,
Bath of assent and cruelte.

15 He had gert be with him syndri:
Gilbert Male-herbe, Johne of Logy,

Gilbert Male-herbe, Johne of Logy, Thir war the knychtis I tell of heir, And Richard Broune als, a squyeir; And gud Schir David the Brechyne 20 Wes of this deid arettit syne,

As I sall tell yhow forthirmair.
Bot thai ilkane discoverit war

# AUG., 1320] The Conspir.

Throu ane lady, Sas Or till thair purpos cu

25 For scho taid haly to th.
Thair purpos and thair or
And how that he suld haf be
And Sowlis ryng in-till his ste
And tald him werray takynnyng

30 That this purches wes suthfast the And quhen the King wist it wes swa, Sa sutell purchas can he ma, That he gert tak thame evirilkane. And quhar the lord Sowlis wes tane,

35 Thre hundreth and sexte had he Of squyeris, cled in his liverye, At that tyme in his cumpany, Outane knychtis that war joly. In-to Berwik than takyn wes he;

40 Than mycht men all his menyhe se Sary and wa; for, suth to say, The king leit thame all pass thar way; And held thame that he takyn had. The lord Sowlis syne eftir maid

45 Playn granting of all that purchas.
A parliament tharfor set thar was,
And thiddir brought thir menyhe war.
The lord Sowlis has grantit thar
The deid in-to plane parliament.

50 Thar soyn eftir he wes sent Till his penans till Dumbertane, And deit in that tour of stane.

Schir Gilbert Maleherbe, and Logy,
And Richard Broune, thir thre planly
55 War with ane assis than ourtane.
Tharfor thai drawin war ilkane,
And hyngit and hedit als thar-to,
As men had demyt thame till do.
And gud Schir David the Brechyne
60 Thai gert challans richt stratly syne;

. that thing ப discoveryng, . gaf na consent. lit thair entent erit it nocht to the King, neld of all his halding, d maid till him his fewte, to hang and draw wes he. and as that drew him for to hyng, 70 The pepill ferly fast gan thring, Him and his myscheiff for to se, That to behald wes gret pite. Schir Ingerame Umphravell, that than Wes with the King as Scottis man, 75 Quhen he that gret mischeif can se, "Lordis," he said, "quhar-to press yhe? "To se at myscheiff sic a knycht, "That wes so worthy and so wicht, "That I haf seyn ma pres to se 80 "Him for his richt soverane bounte, "Than now dois for till se him heir!" And guhen thir wordis spoken weir, With sary cher he held him still Quhill men had done of him thar will. 85 Syne, with the leiff of the King, He brought him menskfully till erding. And syne to the King thus said he; "A thing, pray I yhow, grant to me; "That is, that yhe of all my land, 90 "That in-to Scotland is lyand, "Wald gif me leiff till do my will." The King than soyne has said him till, 'I will weill graunt that it swa be; 'Bot tell me quhat anoyis the?' 95 He said agane, "Grant me mercy, "And I sall tell yhow it planly. "Myne hert giffis me no mor to be "With yhow duelland in this cuntre. "Tharfor, bot at it nocht yhow greiff,

100 "I pray yhow hertly of yhour leiff.

"For quhar sa richt worthy a knycht,

"And sa chevelrus and sa wicht,

"And sa renownit of worschip syne " As gud Schir David the Brechyne,

105 "And sa fulfillit of all manheid, "Wes put to sa felloune a ded,

"My hert forsuth may nocht gif me

"Till duell, for na thing that may be." The King syne said; 'Sen thou will swa,

110 'Quhen-evir thou likis thou may ga, 'And thou sall haiff gud leiff thar-to

'Thi liking of thi land till do.' And he him thankit gretumly, And of his land, in full gret hy,

115 As him thought best, disponit he. Syne at the King of gret bounte, Befor all thai that with him war, He tuk his leyff for evirmair; And went in Ingland to the King,

120 That maid him richt fair welcummyng, And askit him of the north tithing. And he him tald all, but lesing, How that knychtis distroyit war, And all as I tald till yhow air;

125 And of the Kyngis curtasye, That levit him debonarly Till do of his land his liking. In that tyme war send fra the King Of Scotland messingeris to tret

130 Of pes, gif that thai mycht it get, As that oftsis befor war send, Quhar that thai couth nocht bring till end. For the gud King had in entent, Sen God sa fair grace till him sent,

135 That he had wonnyn all his land Throu strinth of armys till his hand, That he pes in his land wald ma, And all the landis stabill swa.

106. E velanvs. H villanous. 134. E Had him lent.

IIO. E the likys.

That his air eftir hym suld be 140 In peis, gif men held thair laute.

342

I N this tyme now that Umphrevele, As I bair yhow on hand eir-quhil, Com till the King of Ingland, The Scottis messingeres than he fand

145 Of pes and rest to haf tretis.

The King wist Schir Ingerame wes wis, And askit his consell thair-to, Ouhat he wald rede him for till do. For him, said he, thought herd to ma

150 Pes wyth King Robert Bruce his fa, Quhill that he of him vengit war. Schir Ingerame till hym maid ansuar And said, "He delt sa curtasly

"With me, that on na wis suld I

155 "Giff consell till his merring."

'The behufis neid-way,' said the King, 'To this thing heir say thine avis.'

"Schir," said he, "sen yhour willis is

"That I say, wyt yhe sekirly, 160 "For all yhour gret chevelry,

"Till deill with hym yhe haf no mycht.

" His men ar worthyn all sa wicht

"For lang usage of gret fechting, "That has beyne norist in sic thing,

165 "That ilk yheman is sa wicht

"Of his, that he is worth a knycht.

"Bot and yhe think yhour weir to bring

"Till your purpos and gud liking, "Lang trewis with hym tak sall yhe.

170 "Than sall the mast of his menyhe,

"That ar bot sympilf yhemanry, "Be distrenyheit all comonly

"To wyn thair met with thair travale.

"And sum of thame neid mon thame call

175 "With plewch and harrow for to get, "And othir ser craftis, thair met;

"Swa that thair armyng sall worth ald,

"And sall be rottyn, distroyit, or sald;

"And feill, that now of weir ar sle,

180 "In-till a lang trewis sall de,

" And othir in thair sted sall ris

"That sall cun litill of sic mastris.

"And quhen thai thus disusyt ar,

"Than may yhe move on thame yhour wer,

\*185 "And sall richt weill, as I suppos,

\*186 "Bring yhour entent to gud purpos."

185 Till this assentit thai ilkane.

And eftir syne war trewis tane, Betuix the twa Kyngis, that wer Talit to lest for thretten yheir: And on the marchis gert thame cry.

190 The Scottis men kepit thame lely, Bot Inglis men apon the se Distroyit, throu gret iniquite, Marchand-schippis, that saland war Fra Scotland to Flandris with war,

195 And distroyit the men ilkane, And till thar oys thar gude has tane. The King send oft till ask redres. Bot nocht thar-of redres ther wes; And he abaid all tyme askand.

200 The trewis on his half gert he stand Apon the marchis stabilly, And gert men kep thame lelely.

### The Death of Good Sir Walter Steward.

I N this tyme that the trewis war Lestand on marchis, as I said ar, 205 Walter Steward, that worthy was, At Bathket a gret seknes tais. His evill it wox ay mair and mair, Quhill men persavit by his fair,

177. C thai armyng (S).

\*185, \*186. Omitted in Pinkerton's edition.

188. E viii. (for xiii.). H threttene. 206. E Bathgat.

That hym worthit neyd to pay the det 210 That na man for till pay may let. Schrevyn, and als repentand wele, Quhen all wes done him ilke deill That nedit Cristin man till haf, As gud Crystyn the gast he gaf.

215 Than mycht men heir folk gret and cry, And mony a knycht and ek lady Mak in apert richt evill cher; Sa did thai all that evir thair wer: All men hym menyt comonly,

220 For of his elde he wes worthy.

Quhen thai lang tyme thar dule had maid,
The cors to Paslay haf thai had,
And thar with gret solempnite,
And with gret dule, erdyt wes he.

225 God, for his mycht, his saull he bring Quhar joy ay lestis but endyng!

E FTIR his ded, as I said air,
The trewis that swa takyn war,
For till haf lestit thretten yheir,
230 Quhen twa yheir of thame passit weir,
And ane half, as I trow, alsua,
Kyng Robert saw men wald nocht ma
Redres of schippes that war tane,
And of the men als that war slane;

235 Bot continuit thair mavite

Quhen evir thai met thame on the se.

He send and acquyt hym all planly,

And gaf the trewis up oppinly.

And, in vengeans of this trespas,

240 The gud Erll of Murreff, Thomas, And Donald Erll of Mar alsua, And James of Douglas with thaim twa, And James Steward, that ledar wes, Eftir his gud brother disses,

224 C entyrit (S). H eirded

245 Of all his brothir men in weir, He gert apon thar best maner With mony men bown thaim to ga In Ingland, for to burne and sla. And thai held furth soyn till Ingland—

250 Thai war of gud men ten thousand— Thai brynt and slew in-to thair way; Thair fais fast distroyit thai. And swagat furthward can thai fair, Till Wardill quhill thai cummyn war.

255 That tyme Edward of Carnavarane, The King, wes ded, and laid in stane; And Edward, his sone, that wes yhyng, In Ingland crownyt wes for Kyng, And surname had of Wyndissoyr.

260 He had in France beyn of befor With his moder dame Isabell; And wes weddid, as I herd tell, Till a yhoung lady fair of face That the Erllis douchter was

265 Of Hennaut; and of that cuntre Broucht with him men of gret bounte. Schir Johne of Hennaut wes thar leder, That was richt wis and wicht in wer.

And that tym that Scottis men war
270 At Wardale, as I said yhow ar,
In-to York wes the new maid King,
And herd tell of the distroying
That Scottis men maid in his cuntre.
A gret host till him gaderit he:

275 He wes weill neir fifty thousand.
Than held he northwarde in the land
In haill battale with that menyhe.
Auchtene yheir ald that tyme wes he.
The Scottis men all Cokdaill.

280 Fra end till end thai heryit haill, And till Wardaill agane thai raid.

253. E southwart.

Thar discurriouris that sicht has had Of cummyng of the Inglis men, To thair lordis thai tald it then.
Than the lord Douglas in a lyng.

285 Than the lord Douglas, in a lyng, Raid furth for till se thair cummyng; And saw that sevyn battellis war thai, That com rydand in gud aray. Quhen he that folk behaldin had,

Toward his host agane he raid.
The Erll sperit giff he had seyne
The Inglis host; "Yha, Schir, but weyne."
Quhat folk ar thai? "Schir, mony men."
The Erll his ayth has suorn him then,

295 'We sall ficht with thame, thouch thai war 'Yheit ma eftsonis than thai ar.'

'Schir, lovit be God,' he said agane,

'That we have sic ane capitane, 'That swa gret thyng dar undirta.

300 'Bot, be Saint Bryde, it beis nocht swa,

'Giff my consaill may trowit be. 'For fecht on na maner sall we 'Bot be it at our avantage.

'For me think it war nane outrage

'Till fewar folk aganys ma
'Avantage, quhen thai ma, to ta.'
As thai war on this wis spekand,
Our ane hye rig thai saw rydand,
Toward thame evyn, a battell braid;

310 Baneris displayit enew thai had.
And ane othir come eftir neir:
And rycht apon the sammyn maner
Thai com, quhill seven battellis braid
Out-our that high ryg passit had.

On north half Wer, toward Scotland.
The daill wes strekit weill, I hicht;
On athir syde thar wes ane hicht
Till the wattir doune, sum-deill stay.

320 The Scottis men in gud aray,

282. C had had (S). H hes. 304.

On thair best wis buskit ilkane, Stude in the strynth that thai had tane; And that wes fra the wattir of Wer A quartir of ane myle weill ner:

325 Thai stude thar battell till abyd.
And Inglis men on athyr syd
Com ridand dounward, quhill thai wer
To Weris wattir cummyn ner,
And on othir half thair fais war.

330 Than haf thai maid a-rest richt thar:
And send out archeris a thousand
With hudis of, and bowis in hand,
And gert thaim weill drink of the wyne,
And bad thaim gang to bykkyr syne

335 The Scottis host in abandoune
And luk if thai mycht dyng thaim doun:
For mycht thai ger thame brek aray,
Till have thaim at thar will thoucht thai.
Armyt men doune with thame thai send,

340 Thame at the watter till defend.

The lord Dowglas has seyn thair fair, And men, that richt weill horsit war And armyt, a gret cumpany, Behynd the battell prevely

345 He gert hufe, to byd thair cummyng:
And quhen he maid to thame taknyng,
Thai suld com prikand fast, and sla
With speris that thai mycht our-ta.
Donald of Mar thar chiftane was,

350 And Archbald with hym of Dowglas.
The lord Dowglas toward thaim raid;
A gown on his armyng he had,
And traversit alwayis up agane
Thame neir his battell for till trayne.

355 And thai, that drunkyn had of the wyne, Com ay up endlang in a lyne,

336. E Thai ger thaim cum apon thaim down: which does not make sense, 341. C that fair. Has E.

Quhill that the battell com so neir That arrows fell emang thaim seir. Robert of Ogill, a gud squyer,

360 Com prekand than on a courser, And on the archeris cryit agane,

"Yhe wat nocht quha mais yhow that traine!

"It is the lord Dowglas, that will "Sum of his playis ken yhow till."

365 And quhen thai herd spek of Dowglas,
The hardyest affrayit was,
And agane returnit halely.
His takyn maid he than in hy;
And the folk that enbuschit war

370 So stoutly prekit on thame thar,
That weill thre hundreth haf thai slayne,
And till the wattir hame agayne
The remanand all can thai chas.

Schir Williame of Erskyn that was \*375 Newlingis makyn knycht that day,

\*376 Weill horsit intill gud aray,

375 Chassit with othir that war thar
Sa fer-furth, that his hors him bar
Emang the lump of Inglis men,
That with strang hand he tane wes then.
Bot of hym weill soyn chaynge wes maid

380 For othir that men takyn had.
Fra thir Inglis archeris wer slayne,
Thai folk raid till thar host agane.
And richt swa did the lord Douglas;
And quhen that he reparit was,

385 Thai mycht emang thair fayis se
Thair palyheownys soyne stentit be.
Than thai persavit soyne in hy
That thai that nycht wald tak herbery,
And schap till do no mar that day.

390 Tharfor alsua thame herbreit thai,

368. C he thaim (S). H then. E seems to give the more probable reading.
\*375, \*376. In C H. E omits.

And stentit palyheownys soyn in hy;
Tentis and luggis als thair-by
Thai gert mak, and set all on raw.
Twa novelreis that day thai saw,
395 That forrouth in Scotland had beyn nane:
Tymbrys for helmys wes the tane,
That thame thoucht than of gret bewte,
And alsua wounder for to se;
The tothir crakkis war of wer,
400 That thai befor herd nevir eir.
Of thir twa thyngis thai had ferly.
That nycht thai wachit stalwardly:
The mast part of thame armyt lay,
Quhill on the morne that it wes day.

THE Inglis men thame umbethoucht,
Apon quhat maner that they moucht
Ger Scottis leve thair avantage;
For thame thoucht foly and outrage
To gang up to thame till assale
Thame at thar strynthis in playn battale.
Tharfor of gud men ane thousand,
Armyt on hors bath fut and hand,
Thai send, behynd thair fayis to be
Enbuschit in-till a vale:

And schup thair battellis, as thai wald Apon thame till the fechting hald.

For thame thoucht Scottis men sic will Had, that thai mycht nocht hald thaim still:

For thai knew thame of sic corage,

420 That thai trowit strenth and avantage
That suld leyff, and meit thame planly;
Than suld thar buschement hastely
Behynd prek on thame at the bak;
Sa thought thai weill thai suld thaim mak

425 For till repent thame of thair play.

Thair enbuschement furth send haf thai,
That thame enbuschit prevaly.
And on the morn, sum-deill airly,

394. E noveltyis.

In-till the host syne trumpit thai,
430 And gert thair battell braid aray;
And, all arayit for to ficht,
Thai held toward the wattir richt.
Scottis men, that saw thame do swa,
Bown on thair best wis can thaim ma;

435 And in battell planly arayit,
With baneris to the wynd displayit,
Thai left thair strynth, and all planly
Com doune to meit thame hardely,
In als gud maner as thai mowcht,

A40 Richt as thair fayis befor had thoucht.
Bot the lord Dowglas, that ay-quhar
Set out wachis heir and thar,
Gat wit of thair enbuschement.
Than in gret hy soyn is he went

He bad ilk man turn hym in hy,
Richt as he stud, and turnit swa
Up till thair strynth he bad thaim ga,
Swa that na let thar-in be maid.

450 And thai did as he biddin had, Quhill to thair strynth thai com agayn. Than turnyt thai thame with mekill mayn, And stude reddy to giff battale, Giff thair fayis wald thame assale.

455 Quhen Inglis men has seyn thaim swa Toward thar strynth agane up ga, Thai cryit hey, "Thai fley thar way!" Schir Johne de Hennaut said: "Perfay, "Yhone fleying is richt degyse.

"Yhone fleying is richt degyse.
460 "Thair armyt men behynd I se,

"And thair baneris, swa that thai thar

"Bot turne thame as thai standard war, "And be arayit for the ficht,

"Gif ony pressis thame with mycht.

465 "Thai haf seyne our enbuschement, "And agane to thar strinth ar went.

"Yhone folk ar governyt wittely;

"And he that ledis thame war worthy

"For a-vis, worschip, and wisdome,
470 "To governe the empyre of Rome."
Thus spak that worthy knycht that day;
And the enbuschement, fra that thai
Saw that thai swa discoverit war,
Toward thar host agane thai far.

475 And the battell of Inglis men,
Quhen thai saw thai had falit then
Of thar purpos, to thair herbery
Thai went, and lugit thame in hy.
On othir half richt swa did thai,

480 Thai maid no mar debat that day.

OWHEN that that day ourdrivyn had, Fyres in gret foysoune that maid, Als soyne as the nycht fallen was. Than the gud lord of Dowglas,

That spyit had a plas thar-by,
Twa myle fra thine, quhar mar trastly
The Scottis host mycht herbery ta,
And defend thame bettir alsua
Than ellis in ony place thar-by;

490 It wes a park, that halely
Wes enveronyt about with wall;
It wes neir full of treis all,
Bot a gret plain in-till it was;
Thiddir thought the lord Dowglas

He nychtyrtale thair host to bryng.

Tharfor, forouten mair duelling,

Thai bet thair fyres and maid thame mair,

And syne all sammyn furth thai fair,

And till the park, without tynsele,

500 Thai come, and herbryit thaim richt wele
Upon the wattir, and als neir
Till it as thai be forrouth weir.
And on the morn, quhen it wes day,
The Inglis host myssit away

505 The Scottis men, and had ferly, And gert discurriouris hastely

502. that inserted by S for metre. C forrouth (S). Cf. 515.

Prek to se quhar thai war away. And, by thair fyres, persavit thai That thai in the park of Wardale 510 Had gert herbery thar host all hail.

> Tharfor thair host but mair abaid Buskit, and evin anent thaim raid, And on othir half the watter of Wer Gert stent thair palyheownys, als neir

515 As that befor stentit war thai.

Aucht dayis on bath halffis swa thai lay,
That Inglis men durst nocht assale
The Scottys men with playne battale,
For strinth of erd that thai had ther.

520 Thar wes ilk day justyng of wer, And scrymmyng maid full apertly, And men tane on ather party. And thai that tane war on a day On ane othir changit war thai.

525 Bot othir dedis nane war done,
That gretly is apone till mone;
Quhill it fell, on the nynt day,
The lord Dowglas had spyit a way,
How that he mycht about thame ryd,

530 And cum apon the ferrest syd.

And at evyn him purvayit he,

And tuk with him a gude menyhe,

Fyve hundreth on hors, wicht and hardy;

And in the nycht, all prevely,

535 For-out noyis so fer he raid,
Quhill that he neir enveremyt had
Thar host, and on the ferrer syd
Toward thame slely can he ryd,
And half the men that with hym war

540 He gert in hand have suerdis bar; And bad thaim hew rapys in twa, That thai the pailyhownys mycht ma

> 527. E sevynd. H nynth. 533. C wes richt hardy (S). H as E

To fall on thaim that in thaim war. Than suld the laiff, that forouth ar,

545 Stab doune with speres sturdely.
And, quhen that herd his horne, in hy
To the wattir hald doun the way.
Quhen this wes said that I here say,
Toward thair fais fast that raid,

550 That on that syd no wachis had.
And as thai neir war approchand,
Ane Inglis man, that lay bekand
Hym by a fyre, said to his feir,
"I wat nocht quhat may tyd us heir,

555 "Bot a richt gret growyng me tais; "I dred me sair for the blak Dowglas." And he, that herd him, said, 'Perfay, 'Thou sall haf caus, gif that I may!

With that, with all his cumpany,
560 He ruschit on thame hardely,
And prowd palyheownys doune he bare,
And with speris that scharply schar
Thai stekit men dispituisly.
The novis weill soyn rais, and the cry;

565 Thai stabbit, stekit, and thai slew;
And mony palyheownys doun thai drew.
A felloun slauchtir maid thai thair,
That thai, that liand nakit war,
Hed na power defens to ma;

570 And that but pite can thame sla.
That gert thame wit that gret foly
Wes, neir thair fayis for to ly,
Bot gif that trastly wachit war.
The Scottis men war slaand thar

575 Thair fayis on this wis, quhill the cry
Rais throu the gret host comonly,
That lord and othir war on steir.
And quhen the Dowglas wist thai weir
Armand thame all comonly,

580 He blew his horne for till rely

His men, and bad thame hald thar way Toward the wattir, and swa did thai; And he abaid henmast, to se That nane of his suld lefit be.

585 And, as he swa abaid hufand, Swa come ane with a club in hand, And swa gret rowtis till him raucht, That, had nocht beyn his mekill maucht And his richt soverane gret manhede,

590 In-till that plas he had beyne ded.
Bot he, that na tyme wes affrayit,
Thouch he weill oft wes herd assayit,
Thou mekill strynth and gret manheid,
Has brocht the tothir on to ded.

595 His men, that to the wattir doune War rydyn in-till a randoune, Myssit thar lord quhen thai com thar. Than war thai dredand for him sar; Ilkane at othir sperit tithing,

600 Bot yheit of hym thai herd no thing.
Than can thai consale sammyn ta,
That thai to sek hym up wald ga.
And, as thai war in sic affray,
A tutlyng of his horne herd thai.

605 And thai, that has it knawin swith,
War of his cummyng woundir blith,
And sperit at him of his abaid;
And he tald how a carll him maid
With his club richt ane felloune pay,

610 That met him stoutly in the way,
That, had nocht ure helpit the mair
He had beyn in great perell thair.
Thusgatis spekand thai held thar way,
Quhill till thar host cummyn ar thai,

615 That on fut, armyt, thame abaid, For till help, gif thai myster had. And, als soyne as the lord Dowglas Met with the Erll of Murreff was,

612. C I had (S). H as E.

The Erll sperit at hym tithing
620 How he had farn in his outyng.
"Schir," said he, "we haf drawyn blude."
The Erll, that wes of mekill mude,
Said, 'And we had all thiddir gane,
'We had discumfit thame ilkane.'

625 "It mycht haf fallyn weill," said he,

"Bot sekerly enew war we"To put us in yhon aventur.

"For, had thai maid discumfitur

"On us, that yhondir passit wer,

630 "It suld all stonay that ar heir."

The Erle said, 'Sen that it swa is, 'That we may nocht with juperdis 'Our felloune fais fors assale,

'We sal it do in playn battale.

635 Lord Douglas said then; "Be Saint Bryd,

"It war gret foly, at this tyd,
"Till us with sic ane host till ficht,

"That ilk day growis of mycht, And vittale has thar-with plente.

640 "And in thar cuntre heir ar we,

"Quhar thar may cum us na succours;

"Herd is to mak us heir rescours; "Na we may forra for to get met,

"Sic as we haf heir mon we et.

645 "Do we with our fayis tharfor

"That ar heir liand us befor, "As I herd tell this othir yher

"How that a fox did with a fischer."

## How the Fox played with the Fisher.

'How did the fox?' the Erll can say.

650 He said; "A fischar quhilome lay "Besyde a ryver for till get

"His nettis that he had thar set.

"A litill luge that had he maid;

"And thar-within a bed he had,

655 "And ek a litill fyre alsua;

"A dure ther wes, withouten ma.

" A nycht, his nettis for till se

"He rais, and thair weill lang duelt he.

"And quhen that he has done his ded,

660 "Toward his luge agane he yhed,

"And with licht of the litill fyre,

"That in the luge was byrnand schyre,

"In-till his luge a fox he saw,

"That fast can on a salmond gnaw.

665 "Than till the dure he went in hy,

"And drew ane swerd deliverly

"And said, 'Reiffar, thou mon heir out.'

"The fox, that wes in full gret dout,

"Lukit about sum hoill to se;

670 "Bot nane ysche thar couth he se,

"Bot quhar the man stude sturdely.

" A lawchtane mantill than hym by,

"Lyand apon the bed, he saw;

"And with his teyth he can it draw

675 "Atour the fyre; and, quhen the man

"Saw his mantill ly byrnand than,

"Till red it ran he hastely." The fox gat out than in gret hy,

"And held his way his warand till.

680 "The man leit hym begilit ill,

"That he his salmond swa had tynt,

" And alsua had his mantill brynt,

"And the fox scathles gat his way.

"This ensampill I may weill say

685 "By yhon folk and us that ar heir;

"We ar the fox, and that the fischer,

"That stekis forouth us the way.

"Thai weyne we may nocht get away, Bot richt quhar that thai ly; perde,

690 "All as that think it sall nocht be.

"For I haf gert spy us a gat,

"Suppos that it be sum-deill wat,

667. C Tratour (S).

"A page of ouris we sall nocht tyne. "Our fayis, for this small tranontyne, "Wenys we sall weill pryd us swa, "That we planly on hand sall ta "To gif thame oppynly battale; "Bot at this tyme thair thought sall fale. "For we to-morne heir, all the day, 700 "Sall mak als mery as we may, "And mak us boune agane the nycht; "And than ger mak our fyres bricht, " And blaw our hornys, and mak fair "As all the warld our awne it war, 705 "Quhill that the nycht weill fallyn be. "And than, with all our harnas, we "Sall tak our way hamward in hy. "And we sall gyit be richt graithly "Quhill we be out of thair danger, 710 "That lyis now enclosit her. "Than sall we all be at our will, "And thai sall let thame trumpit ill, "Fra thai wit weill we be away." To this haly assentit thai; 715 And maid thame gud cher all that nycht

A PON the morne, all prevaly,
Thai turst harnas and maid reddy;
Swa that, or evyn, all boun war thai.
Thair fayis, that agane thame lay,
Gert haf thair men that thar wes ded
In cartis till ane haly sted.
All that day caryand thai war
With cartis, men that slayne war thar.
That thai war feill men mycht weill se,
That in carying so lang sud be.
The hostis bath all that day wer
In pes; and quhen the nycht wes ner,
The Scottis folk, that lyand war
In-till the park, maid fest and far;

Quhill on the morn that day was licht.

And blew hornys and fyres maid, And gert thame bryn bath bricht and braid, Swa that thair fyres that nycht war mair Than ony tyme befor thai war.

735 And quhen the nycht wes fallyn wele, With all thair harnas ilke deill All prevaly thai raid thair way. Soyn in a mos enterit ar thai, That had weill a lang myle on breid;

740 Out-our that moss on fut thai yheid, And in thair hand thair hors led thai. It wes richt ane noyus way; And nocht-for-thi all that thar wer Com weill outour it, haill and fer,

745 And tynt bot litill of thar ger,
Bot gif it war ony summer
That in the mos wes left liand.
Quhen all, as I haf born on hand,
Out-our the mos, that wes so braid,

750 War cummyn, a gret gladschip thai had, And raid furth hamwarde on thar way. And on the morn, quhen it wes day, The Inglis men saw the herbery, Quhar Scottis men war wount to ly,

755 All voyd; thai wonderit gretly then, And send furth syndry of thar men To spy quhar thai war gane away, Quhill at the last thair tras fand thai, That till the mekill mos thame had,

760 That wes so hidwis for till waid, That aventur thame thar-to durst nane; Bot till thar host agane ar gane,

739. E twa myle of. So, too, in H.
742-744. After line 742 H inserts:
But flaikes in the wood they made
Of wands, and them with them had:
And sykes therewith brigged they:
And sa had well their horse away,
On sik wise, that all that there were,
Came through the mosse baith haill and feire.

And tald how that that passit war, Quhar nevir man wes passit ar.

765 Quhen Inglis men hard it wes swa, In hy till consale can that ta, That thai wald follow thaim no mar. Thair host richt than thai scalit thar, And ilk man till his awn he raid.

770 Kyng Robert than that witteryng had That his men in the park swa lay, And at quhat myscheiff thar war thai, Ane host assemblit he in hy. And ten thousand men, wicht and hardy,

775 He send furth has with Erllis twa, Of Marche and Angous war thai, The host in Wardale till releiff; And, gif that mycht so weill escheiff That sammyn nycht be thai and thai,

780 Tha thought thair fayis till assay.

So fell it that, on the sammyn day That the mos, as yhe herd me say, Wes passit, the discurrouris that thar Rydand befor the hostis war,

785 Of athir host has gottin sicht. And thai, that worthy war and wicht, At tha metyng justit of wer. Ensenyheis hye thai cryit ther; And be thair cry persavit thai,

790 That thai war frendis, and at a fay. Than mycht men se thame glad and blith; And tald it to thair lordis swith. The hostis bath met sammyn syne; Thar wes richt hamly welcummyne

795 Maid emang gret lordis thar; Of thair metyng joyfull thai war. The Erll Patrik and his menyhe Had vittale with thame gret plente, And thar-with weill relevit thai

800 Thar frendis; for, the suth to say,

774. C Of twenty thousand richt hardy (S). Hlike E. 776. E the Merse.

Quhill thai in Wardall liand war,
Thai had defalt of met, bot thar
Thai war relevit with gret plente.
Toward Scotland, with gammyn and gle,
805 Thai went, and hame weill cummyn ar thai;
And scalit syne ilk man thar way.
The lordis ar went on-to the King,
That maid thame richt fair welcummyng.
For of thar come richt glad wes he;
810 And that thai sic perplexite.
For-out tynsale eschapit had.
Thai war blith all and mery made.

#### BOOK XX.

How Good King Robert the Bruce crowned his Young Son David and Dame Johann, his Spouse.

SOYNE eftir that the Erll Thomas Fra Wardale thus reparit was, The King assemblit all his mycht, And left nane that wes worth to ficht. 5 A gret host than assemblit he,

- And delt his host in parties thre.
  A part to Norhame went but let,
  And thair ane strat assege was set,
  And held thame in, richt at thar dik.
- Io The tothir part on to Awnwyk
  Is went, and thar ane sege set thai;
  And quhill at thir assegis lay
  At the castellis, I spak of ar,
  Apert assaltis maid thai thar:
- 15 And mony fair gud chevelry
  Eschevyt wes full douchtely.
  The king at thai castellis liand
  Left his folk, as I bare on hand,
  And with the thrid ost held his way
  Fra park to park, hym for to play,
- 16. E war. H was. C omits line. S reads wes as more usual form.

Huntand as all his awn it war. And till thame that war with him thar The landis of Northumbirland, That next Scotland thar wes liand,

25 In fe and heritage gaf he, And thai payit for the selys fee. On this wis raid he distroyand, Quhill that the Kyng of Ingland, Throu consell of the Mortymer

30 And his moder, at that tym wer
Ledaris of hym, that than yhoung wes,
To Kyng Robert, till tret of pes
Send messyngers, and swa sped thai
That thai assentit on this way,

35 Than a perpetuall pes to tak, And thai a mariage suld mak Of King Robertis sone, Davy, That than bot fiff yheir had scarsly, And of dame Johane als of the Tour,

40 That syne wes of full gret valour.
Sistir scho was to the yhoung King
That Ingland had in governyng,
That than of eild had sevin yher.
And monymentis and lettrys ser,

45 That thai off Ingland that time had, That oucht agayn Scotland maid, In till that tretys up thai gaff; And all the clame that thai mycht haff In-till Scotland on ony maner.

50 And King Robert, for scathes ser,
That he till thame of Ingland
Had done of weir, with stalward hand,
Full twenty thousand pund suld pay
Of sylvir in-to gude monay.

55 Quhen men thir thyngis forspokin had, And, with selys and athis, maid Fesnyng of frendschip and of pes, That nevir for na chans suld ces;

41. E yhing.

44-49. In E only. C H omit.

The maryage syne ordanit thai

Till be at Berwyk, and the day
Thai have set quhen that it suld be;
Syne went ilk man till his cuntre.

Thus maid wes pes quhar wer wes air,
And syne the assegis rasit wair.

The Kyng Robert ordanit till pay
The silvir, and, agane the day,
He gert weill for the mangery
Ordane, quhen that his sone Davy
Suld weddit be; and Erll Thomas,
And the gud lord als of Douglas,
In till his stade ordanit he

In-till his stede ordanit he Devysouris of that fest till be; For ane male-es tuk hym so sare, That he on na wis mycht be thar.

75 His mail-eis of ane fundyng Begouth; for, throu his cald lying, Quhen in his gret myschef wes he, Him fell that herd perplexite. At Cardros all that tym he lay;

80 And quhen neir cummyne wes the day
That ordanit for the wedding wes,
The Erll and the lord Dowglas
To Berwik come with mekill fair,
And brought yhoung Davy with thame thair.

85 And the Queyne and Mortymer, On othir party cummyn wer With gret affeir and rialte, The yhoung lady, of gret bewte, Thidder thai broucht with rich affeir.

90 The wedding have thai maid richt ther With gret fest and solempnite, Thair mycht men myrth and gladschip se: For full gret fest thai maid richt thar, And Inglis men and Scottis war

95 To-gidder in joy and in solas: Na felloune spek betuix thame was. The fest a weill lang tyme held thai; And quhen thai buskit till fair away, The queyn hes left hir douchter thar

Into queyi hes left in doubther than With gret riches and ryall far.
I trow that lang quhill no lady
To hous wes gevin so richly.
The Erll and the Lord Dowglas,
Hir in dante resavit has,

For scho wes syne the best lady
And the farest, that men mycht se.
Eftir this gret solempnite,
Ouhen on bath halfis levis wes tane,

And had with hir the Mortymer.

The Erll and thai that levit wer,

Quhen thai a quhile hir convoyit had,

Toward Berwik agane thai raid,

Toward the King thai went in hy,
And had with thame the yhoung Davy,
And als dame Johane the yhoung lady.
The Kyng maid thame fair welcummyng,

120 And eftir, but lang delaying,
He has gert set ane parliament,
And thiddir with mony men is went.
For he thought he wald, in his liff,
Croune his yhoung sone and his wif

125 At that parliament, and swa did he; With gret fair and solempnite, The kyng Davy wes crownyt thar,

\*127 And all the lordis at thar war,

\*And als of the comminite,

\*Maid hym manrent and fewte. \*130 And forouth that thai crownit war, The King Robert gert ordane thar,

Gif it fell that his sone Davy

130 Deit, but air male of his body

<sup>\*127-\*130.</sup> Found in C, E, H, but omitted by Pinkerton.

Gottyn, Robert Stewart suld be Kyng, and bruk all the rialte That his douchter bar, Marjory. And at this tailyhe suld lelely

135 Be haldin, all the lordis swar,
And it with selys affermyt thar.
And gif it hapnyt Robert the Kyng
To pass till God, quhill thai war yhyng,
The gud Erle of Murref, Thomas,

140 With the lord alsua of Dowglas, Suld have thame in-to governyng, Quhill thai had wit to steir thar thing; And than the lordschip suld thai ta. Heir-till thar athis can thai ma.

145 And all the lordis that wes than To thir twa wardanys athes swar Till obeis thame in-to lawte, Gif thame hapnyt wardanys to be.

UHEN all this thing thus tretit wes,
And affermyt with sekirnes,
The king till Cardross went in hy;
And thar hym tuk sa felonly
The seknes, and him travalyt swa,
That he wist him behufit ma

155 Of all this liff the commoune end,

That is the ded, quhen God will send.
Tharfor his lettres soyne send he
For the lordis of his cuntre,
And thai com as he biddyn had.

160 His testament than has he maid, Befor bath lordis and prelatis; And till religioune of seir statis, For heill of his saull, gaf he Silvir in-to gret quantite.

165 He ordanit for his saull richt weill.

And quhen at this wes done ilk deill,

"Lordingis," he said, "swa is it gane "With me, that thar is nocht bot ane "That is, the ded, withouten dreid, 170 "That ilk man mon thole on neid. "And I thank God that has me sent "Spas in this liff me till repent. "For throu me and my warraying "Of blud thar has beyne gret spilling, "Ouhar mony sakles men wes slayne; "Tharfor this seknes and this payne "I tak in thank for my trespas. "And my hert fyschit fermly was, "Ouhen I wes in prosperite, 180 "Of my synnys till savit be "To travell apon Goddis fayis. "And sen he now me till hym tais, "That the body may on na wis "Fulfill that the hert can devis, "I wald the hert war thiddir sent, "Quhar-in consavit wes that entent. "Tharfor I pray yhow evir-ilkane, "That yhe emang yhow cheis me ane "That be honest, wis, and wicht, 190 "And of his hand ane nobill knycht, "On Goddis fayis myne hert to bere "Ouhen saull and cors disseverit er. "For I wald it war worthely "Broucht thar, sen God will nocht that I 195 "Have power thiddirward till ga." Than war thair hertis all so wa, That nayne mycht hald hym fra greting. He bad thame leiff thair sorowyng; For it, he said, mycht nocht releif, 200 And mycht thaimself gretly engreif. And prayit thame in hy till do The thyng that that war chargit to. Than went thai furth with drery mude. And emang thame thai thought it gude

205 That the worthy lord Dowglas

\*206 Quham in bath wit and worschip was \*Suld tak this travaill apon hand; \*Heir-till thai war an accordand. \*Syne till the Kyng that went in hy

\*And tald hym at that thought trewly,

\*211 That the douchty lord Dowglas
Best schapen for that travell was.
And quhen the King hard at thai swa
Had ordanit hym his hert till ta,
That he mast yharnit suld it haf,

210 He said, "Sa God him-self me saff!
"I hald me richt weill payit that yhe
"Has chosyn hym; for his bounte,
"And his worschip set my yharnyng,
"Ay sen I thoucht till do this thyng,

215 "That he it with hym that suld ber.

"And sen yhe all assentit er,

"It is the mar likand till me.
"Lat se now quhat thar-till sayis he."

And quhen the gud lord of Dowglas 220 Wist at the Kyng thus spokyn has, He com and knelit to the Kyng, And on this wis maid him thanking. 'I thank yhow gretly, lorde,' said he,

'I thank yhow gretly, lorde,' said he 'Of mony large and gret bounte,
225 'That yhe haf done till me feill sis

'Sen fyrst I come to yhour servis.

'Bot our all thing I mak thanking,

'That yhe so digne and worthy thing

'As yhour hert, that illumynyt wes

230 'Of all bounte and worthynes,
'Will that I in my yheemsell tak.

'For yhow, Schir, will I blithly mak 'This travell, gif God will me gif 'Laser and space so lange till liff.'

Than wes nane in that cumpany
That thai ne wepit for pite;
Thair cher anoyus wes to se.

\*206-\*211. E omits, apparently on account of double termination Douglas. In C H.

# Death of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland.

240 UHEN the Lord Dowglas, on this wis, Had undirtane so hye empris, As the gud Kyngis hert till ber On Goddis fayis apon wer, Prisit for his enpris wes he. And the Kingis infermite

245 Woxe mair and mair, quhill at the last The dulfull dede approchit fast.

And quhen he had gert till hym do All that gud Cristin man fell to,

With werray repentans he gaf

250 The gast, that God till hevin couth haf, Emang his chosyn folk till be In joy, solace, and angell gle. And fra his folk wist he wes ded, The sorow rais fra sted to sted.

255 Thair mycht men se men rif thar hare, And cumly knychtis gret full sar, And thar nevis oft sammyn driff, And as wode men thair clathes rif, Regratand his worthy bounte,

260 His wit, strynth, and his honeste; And, our all, the gret cumpany That he oft maid thame curtesly. "All our defens," that said, "allas!

"And he that all our confort was,

265 "Our wit, and all our governyng,
"Is brought, allas! heir till ending.
"His proposition and his malill much

"His worschip and his mekill mycht "Maid all that war with him so wicht, "That thai mycht nevir abaysit be,

270 "Quhill forouth thame thai mycht him se.

"Allas! quhat sall we do or say?

"For in liff quhill he lestit ay,
"With all our fais dred war we:

"And in-till mony fer cuntre

273. E our nychtbowris. H faes.

275 "Of our worschip ran the renoune: "And that wes all for his persoune." With sic wordis thai maid thair mayne; And sekirly wonder wes nane:

For better governour than he

280 Mycht in na cuntre fundyn be.
I hop that nane that is on lif
The lamentacioune suld discrif
That thai folk for thair lord maid.
And quhen thai lang thus sorowit had,

[293] 285 And he debowalit wes clenly, And bawlmyt eyne full richly,

[295] And the worthy lord Dowglas
His hert, as it forspokyn was,
Has resavit in gret dantee,

[298] 290 With gret fair and solempnite

Thai have him had till Dunfermlyne,
And hym solempnly erdit syne,
And in a fair towne in the queyr.
Bischoppes and prelatis that thar weir

295 Assolyheit hym, quhen the servis Wes done as thai couth best devis; And syne, apon the toder day,

[292] Sary and wa ar went thar way.

[290]

OUHEN at the gud King beriit was,
The Erll of Murreff, Schir Thomas,
Tuk all the lande in governyng;
All obeysit till his bidding.
And the gud lord of Dowglas syne
Gert mak ane cas of silvir fyne
305 Anamalyt throu subtilite:
Thar-in the Kyngis hert did he,
And ay about his hals it bare,
And fast him bownyt for his fare.
His testament devisit he,
310 And ordanit how his land suld be

285-298. The arrangement here is from C H. E sets differently and illogically. The numbers in brackets follow Pinkerton.

Governit, quhill his agane-cummyng, Of frendis; and all othir thing, That till him partenit ony wis, With sa gude forsicht and sa wis,

315 Or his furth-passyng, ordanit he,
That na thing mycht amendit be.
And quhen that he his leif has tane,
To schip till Berwik is he gane;
And with ane nobill cumpany

320 Of knychtis and of squyary,
He put him thar in-to the se.
A lang way furthwarde salyt he;
Betuyx Cornwale and Bretanyhe
He salit, and left the Grunye of Spanyhe

325 On north half hym; and held thar way Quhill till Savill the Graunt com thai. Bot gretly war his men and he Travaled with tempest on the se; Bot, thouch thai gretly travalit war,

330 Haill and feir thai cummyn ar.
Thai arivit at gret Savill;
And eftir, in a litill quhill,
Thar hors to land thai drew ilkane,
And in the toune has herbery tane.

335 He hym contenyt richt richly;
For he had a fayr cumpany,
And gold eneuch for till despend.
The Kyng all soyne eftir hym send,
And him richt weill resavit he,

340 And profferit hym in gret plente Gold and tresour, hors and armyng; Bot he wald tak thar-of na thyng; For, he said, he tuk that viage To pass in-till his pilgrimage

345 On Goddis fais, that his travale Micht eftir till his saull avale.

324. C grund (S). 326. C Sebell (S).

And sen he wist that he had were With Sarazenis, he wald dwell ther, And help him at his mycht lely.

- 350 The King him thankit curtesly,
  And betaucht him gud men that were
  Weill knawin of that landis wer,
  And the maner thar-of alsua.
  Syne till his innys can he ga.
- A weill gret sojourne that he mad.

  A weill gret sojourne thar he mad.

  Knychtis that com of fer cuntre

  Com in gret rowtis hym to se,

  And honorit him full gretumly.

  360 And our all men mast soveranly,

360 And our all men mast soveranly, The Inglis knychtis that war thar Honour and cumpany him bar.

Emang thame wes ane strange knycht,
That wes haldyn so woundir wicht,
365 That for ane of the gude wes he
Prisit of all the Cristianite.
Sa fast till-hewyn wes all his face
That it our all neir wemmyt was.
Or he the lord Dowglas had seyne,
370 He wend his face had wemmyt beyne,

Bot nevir ane hurt in it had he.
Quhen he unwemmyt can it se,
He said that he had gret ferly
That sic a knycht and sa worthy,

375 And prisit of sa gret bounte,
Mycht in the face unwemmyt be.
And he ansuerd thar-till mekly,
And said, "Love God, all tym had I

356. C sudiorne (S). 378-386. For these lines H gives:

And said, "God lent me hands to beare, Wherewith I might my head weere. Thus maid he courteous answering, With a right hie understanding: That for default of fence it was, That sa evill hewen was his fall."

"Handis myne hede for till were."
380 Quha wald tak tent to this ansuer
Suld se in it undirstanding,
That, and he that maid askyng,
Had had handis to wer, his face,
That, for defalt of fens so was

385 To-fruschit into placis ser, Suld haf, may fall, left haill and fer. The gud knychtis, that than war by, Prisit this ansuer gretumly; For it wes maid with meke speking,

390 And had richt hye undirstanding.

Apon this maner still thai lay, Quhill throu the cuntre thai herd say That the hey King of Balmeryne, With mony a mudy Sarasyne,

395 Wes enterit in the land off Spanyhe All haill the cuntre till demanyhe. The Kyng of Spanyhe, on othir party, Gaderit his host delyverly, And delt thame in-to battellis thre.

400 And to the lord Dowglas gaf he
The vaward for to leid and steir;
All haill the strangeris with him weir,
And the gret mastir of Saint Jak
The tothir battell gert he tak.

The reirward maid him-selvyn thar.
Thusgat devisit, furth thai war
To mete thair fayis, that in battale
Arayit, reddy to assale,
Com agane thame full sturdely.

410 The Dowglas than, that wes worthy, Quhen he to thame of his ledyng Had maid ane fair amonestyng Till do weill and na dede to dreid, For hevynnis blis suld be thair meid,

415 Gif that thai deit in Goddis servis; Than, as gud werriours and wis,

380. E tak kep. 393. Hey from E. C H omit.

With thame stoutly assemblit he. Thar mycht men felloune fechting se; For thai war all wicht and hardy

- 420 That war on the Cristyn party;
  So fast thai faucht, with all thar mayne,
  That of Sarasenys war mony slayne;
  The-quhethir, with mony fell fachoune,
  Mony Cristyn thai dang thar doune.
- 425 Bot at the last the lord Douglas, And the gret rout that with hym was, Pressit fast the Sarasenys swa That thai haly the bak can ta. And thai chassit with all thar mayn,
- 430 And mony in the chas has slayn.
  So fer chassit the lord Dowglas,
  With few folk, that he passit wes
  All the folk that wes chassand then.
  He had nocht with him atour ten
- 435 Of all men that war with him thar. Quhen he saw all reparit war Toward his host than turnit he. And quhen the Saryzynys gan se That the chasseris turnyt agane,
- 440 Thai relyit with mekill mayne.
  And as the gud lorde Dowglas,
  As I said air, reparand was,
  - \*421 But ere they joyned in battell, What Dowglas did, I sall you tell. The Bruce's Heart, that on his brest Was hinging, in the field he kest,
  - \*425 Upon a stane-cast and well more:
    And said, "Now passe thou footh before,
    As thou wast wont in field to be,
    And I sall follow, or els die"
    And sa he did withoutten ho,
  - \*430 He faught even while he came it to, And tooke it up in great daintie; \*432 And ever in field this used he.
- \*421-\*432. In H only; not in C E. See Appendix D. 438. C H And as he turnit, he can weill se (S). Text from E. 440. C And thai (S).

So saw he, richt besyd him ner, Quhar that Schir Willyhame de Sancler

445 With a gret rout enveremyt was. He wes anoyit, and said; "Allas! "Yhone worthy knycht will soyn be ded, "Bot he haf help throu our manhed.

"God biddis us help him in gret hy,

450 "Sen that we ar so neir him by. "And God wat weill our entent is "Till lif and de in his servis; "His will in all thing do sall we,

"Sall na perell eschevit be

455 " Quhill he be put out of yhone payne, "Or than we all be with hym slayn." With that with spurris spedely Thai strak the hors, and in gret hy Amang the Saracenys soyne thai raid,

460 And rowme about thame haf thai maid. Thai dang on fast with all thair mycht, And feill of thame to ded has dicht. Gretar defens maid nevir sa quhoyne Agane so feill, as thai have doyne.

465 Quhill thai mycht lest to gif battale. Bot mycht no worschip thar avale That tym, for ilkan war slayn thar; For Sarasynys sa mony war That thai war tuenty neir for ane.

470 The gud lord Douglas thar wes slane, And Wilyhame Sancler syne alsua; And other worthy knychtis twa, Schir Robert Logan hat the tane, And the tothir Walter Logane;

475 Quhar our Lord, for his mekill mycht, Thar saulys have to hevynnis hycht!

THE gud lord Douglas thus wes ded; And the Sarasenys in that sted Abaid no mair, bot held thar way; 480 Thai knychtis ded thar levit thai.

476. C licht (S). H as E.

Sum of the lord Douglassis men, That thar lord ded had fundyn then, Yheid weill neir wood for dule and wa. Lang quhile our hym thai sorowit swa,

485 And with gret dule syne hame him bar.
The Kyngis hert have thai fundyn thar,
And that haym with thame have thai tane,
And ar toward thair innys gane
With greting and with evill cher;

And quhen of Keth gud Schir Wilyhame,
That all that day had beyn at hame—
For at sa gret myschef wes he,
That he come nocht to the journee,

495 For his arme wes brokyne in twa—
Quhen he that folk sic dule saw ma,
He askyt quhat it wes in hy.
And thai him tauld all opynly,
How that thair douchty lord wes slayn

500 With Sarazynys that releyt agayn.
And quhen he wyst that it was sua,
Atour all other he wes mast wa,
And maid so woundir evill cher
That all wounderit that by him wer.

505 Bot till tell of thair sorowyng
Anoyis, and helpis litill thing.
Men may weill wit, thouch nane thaim tell,
How angry, sorowfull, and how fell
Is till tyne sic ane lord as he

510 Till thame that war of his menyhe.
For he wes swete, and debonar,
And weill couth tret his frendis far,
And his fais richt felonly
Stonay, throu his gret chevelry.

515 The-quhethir of litill effer wes he, Bot our all thing he lufit lawte; At tresoune growyt he so gretly, That na tratour mycht be hym by,

496-501. From E H. Not in C, owing to cher twice.

That he mycht wit, na he suld be 520 Weill punyst of his cruelte.

> I trow, the leill Fabricius, That fra Rome to warray Pirrus Wes send with a gret menyhe, Hatit tresoune na les than he.

525 The-quhethir quhen the Pirrus had On him and on his menyhe, mayd Ane outrageous discumfitour, Quhar he eschapit throu aventour, And mony of his men war slane,

530 And he gaderit ane host againe, A gret mastir of medicyne, That Pirrus had in governine, Profferit to this Fabricius

In tresoune for to slay Pirrus; 535 For, in his first potacioune, He suld him gif dedly poysoune.

> Fabricius than, that wondir had That he sic proffer till hym maid Said; "Certis, Rome is wele of mycht

540 "Throu strynth of armys in-to ficht, "Till vencus weill thar fais, thouch thai "Consent to tresoune be na way.

"And for thou wald do sic tresoune, "Thou sall, to get thi warisoune,

545 "Ga to Pirrus, and lat hym do "Quhat evir in hert hym lyis the to." Than till Pirrus he sende in hy

This mastir, and gert him oppenly Fra end till end tell all this tale.

550 Quhen Pirrus had it herd all hale, He said; 'Wes nevir man that swa 'For laute bar hym till his fa,

'As heir Fabricius dois till me;

'It is als ill to ger hym be

555 'Turnyt fra way of richtwisnes, 'Or to consent till wikidnes,

'As at mydday to turne agane 'The sone that rynnis his cours all playn.' Thus said he of Fabricius,

560 That syne vencust this ilk Pirrus In playne battell throu hard fechting. His honest lawte gert me bryng In this ensampell her, for he Had soverane pris of his lawte.

565 And richt sua had the lord Douglas, That honest, leill, and worthy was; That ded wes, as befor said we; All menyt hym, strange and preve.

Quhen his men lang had maid murnyng, 570 The debowellit hyme, and syne Gert seth him, swa that mycht be tane The flesche all haly fra the bane. The carioune thair in haly plas Erdit with right gret worschip was.

575 The banys have thai with thame tane, And syne ar till thair schippes gane. Quhen thai war levit of the Kyng, That dule had of thar sorowyng. Till se thai went, gud wynd thai had,

580 Thair cours till Ingland haf thai maid, And thair saufly arivit thai; Syne toward Scotland held thar way, And thar ar cummyne in full gret hy. And the banys right honorabilly

585 In-till the kirk of Dowglas war Erdit, with dule and mekill car. Schir Archibald his sone gert syne Of alabast bath fair and fyne Ordane a towne full richly,

500 As it behufit till swa worthy.

OWHEN that on this wis Schir Wilyhame Of Keyth had broucht his banis hame, And the gud Kyngis hert alsua, And men had richly gert ma

595 With fair affeir his sepulture,
The Erle of Murreff, that the cure
That tyme of Scotland had haly,
With gret worschip has gert bery
The Kyngis hert at the abbay

600 Of Melros, quhar men prayis ay
That he and his haffe paradis.
Quhen this wes done that I devis,
The gud Erll governit the land,
And held the pure weill to warand.

605 The law sa weill mantemyt he,
And held in pes swa the cuntre,
That it wes nevir led or his day
So weill, as I herd ald men say.
Bot syne, allas! poysonyt wes he;

610 To se his ded wes gret pite.

The lordis deit apon this wis. He, that hye Lord of all thing is, Up till his mekill blis thame bryng, And grant his grace, that thar ofspryng

615 Leid weill the land, and ententif
Be to folow, in all thair liff,
Thair nobill elderis gret bounte!
The afald God in Trinite
Bring us hye up till hevynnis blis,
620 Quhar all-wayis lestand liking is!—AMEN.

610. In H By a false Monk full traiterously.

# NOTES

For fuller details of the more important works referred to see Bibliographical List.

## BOOK I.

4 on gud maner. The best expansion of this phrase as an expression of Barbour's ideal of style is in the Alexander:

> "To mak it on sa gud manere, Sa oppin sentence and sa clere As is the Frenche" (p. 441).

15 tyme of lenth. In modern phrase, "length of time," and Skeat accordingly follows Hart's edition in so reading it. But "of lenth" is a common attributive phrase and may quite well stand here, though awkward to modern ears. In line 531 we have this warld of lenth for "the length of this world," which is a close enough parallel, and will not admit of alteration. In Wyntoun, too, occur such phrases as, "a merke schot large of lenth" (Bk. ix. 27, 419).
37 Quhen Alexander the King was deid. As in the first line of

37 Quhen Alexander the King was deid. As in the first line of the well-known double verse given by Wyntoun as a fragment of the time: "Quhen Alexander our Kinge was dede." Wyntoun, in his extract from The Bruce, here reads oure. Alexander III. was killed by falling, with his horse, over the cliff at Kinghorn in Fife, on March 19, 1286.

39 six yher. Rather less. Alexander "was dead" on March 19, 1286, which Barbour would reckon as 1285. The dispute over the succession began on the death of Queen Margaret on September 26, 1290.

40 lay desolat. Barbour, it may be from considerations of space or symmetry, or as a Bruce partisan, omits all mention of the child-Queen Margaret (1286-1290); Bruce "the Competitor," indeed, held that his claim was superior to hers, and on Alexander's death started a rising apparently against the succession of a female

contrary to the ancient customs of the country. In his pleadings before Edward he claims to be "higher in degree and more worthy in blood" even than she (Palgrave, pp. 30-31). To the reign of Balliol (1292-1296) there is reference later; but no notice is taken of the rising under Wallace (1297-1298) nor of the Barons' War (1299-1304); the former was carried on in the name of King John, and the latter was mainly a Comyn affair. Robert Bruce (King) took a fitful share in both operations on the national side, but ended as an active partisan of Edward I. (but see note on 611).

sum wald haiff the Balleol king. The active heads of his party were Sir John Comyn of Badenoch and William Fraser, Bishop of St. Andrews, two of the Guardians (Palgrave, p. 18). These two had assumed the control of

the government (p. 16).

eldest systiv was. The direct line of William the Lyon having failed, recourse was had to that of his brother, David Earl of Huntingdon. David's only son died without issue. His eldest daughter, Margaret, was the mother of Devorgoil, or Devorgilla, mother of John Balliol who was thus the great-grandson of the Earl, and of the senior female branch. David's second daughter, Isabella, had married Robert Bruce of Annandale father of the Competitor, who was thus the son of the second daughter, as

Devorgilla was the daughter of the first.

54 in als nere degree. The legal phraseology used throughout by Barbour corresponds with the pleadings submitted by Bruce. These (Anglo-French) are given in full by Palgrave in his Documents and Records, vol. i.; the Latin version from the Great Roll, printed in Rymer's Fædera, vol. i., is only a notarial summary. Barbour, however, does not put the issue clearly. In the "branch collaterale" (en lyne collateral) of Earl David, Bruce was "in als nere degre" (aussi pres en degre) as Devorgilla. But Devorgilla was dead before the vacancy in the throne occurred; she had never been vested in the succession, and thus had no rights to transmit to her son (cf. 59, 60). The heritage, therefore, on the death of its possessor, came by law to him who was then nearest in blood—that is, to Bruce, as grandson of Earl David; for John Balliol, as great-grandson, was a degree further away (qe en Sire Roberd de Brus meilleur dreyt deit reposer qe est plus procheyn du saunk qe en Sire Johan de Balliol qe est en plus loyngteyn degree.—Palgrave, p. 34, § 8). Though modern historians have scouted Bruce's plea, it was quite sound for the Middle Ages. Bruce himself cites a contemporary case in Castile, where a younger brother was, by the law of the Visigoths—i.e., their version of Roman law-preferred to the son of the elder.

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nocht to lawer feys lik. Balliol urged that the same law applied to kingdoms as to earldoms, and that thus a kingdom should pass to the next heir by seniority, "without any regard to nearness of degree " (Palgrave, 27, § 3). To this Bruce replies that kings are above the laws, and that the right to a kingdom should not be judged by common law, nor by laws applying to subjects and subject fiefs (29, § 5; 27, § 3), but by "the laws by which kings reign," the "law of nations" (dreit naturel, 25, § 5); and he therefore appeals to Edward as "his Emperor" to judge accordingly (29, § 6), on the analogy of the German or Holy Roman Emperor, who was, in theory, the superior of Christian kings in temporal matters (cf. on 153). Balliol rebuts this with the further contention that the issue is not one of "imperial law," since "the kingdom of Scotland is held of the Crown of England and of no Empire"; and that it would be to the prejudice of Edward's Crown rights (en prejudice de la coroune notre Seigneur le Roi) if he judged the matter in his Court by imperial law (p. 43). Bruce, it will be observed, takes higher ground than Balliol, and presents a special interpretation of the (alleged) overlordship, on which see further note on 153. The distinction may seem over-refined to modern minds, but to the medieval mind, with its own "imperial" idea, it was both real and important. Bruce had other pleas in support of his main position, but on these Barbour does not touch (ct. on 153).

61 in lyne evyn descendand. The correct reading is fixed by the legal phrase, en la dreyte lyne descendant (Palgrave, D. 31, 82).

- p. 31, § 2).

  Thai bar . . . on hand. Skeat says that "to bear on hand often signified to 'assert strongly," and interprets it here as, "They asserted." But this is meaningless in the present context, and the correct significance is as in Chaucer, "For he bar hir on honde of trecherye" (Complaynt of Faire Anelida, line 158); and in Troilus (1154-1155), "She bar him on honde that this was don for malice": hence, here "accused" in the sense of "controverted," on the lines laid down in 59-64. The weaker sense is probably seen in Prologue of the W. of B.'s Tale, 380, 575, etc.
- 67 Erle off Carryk. The Competitor was not Earl; it was his son, father of King Robert, who married the widowed Countess of Carrick.
- 71-5. thai all concordyt. "The nobles, by unanimous consent, decreed among themselves to send serious (solemnes) messages to Edward King of England that in this cause he should be their higher judge" (Fordun, Gesta Annalia, lxx.). The parties were at bitter variance, and there was no other authority strong enough to enforce a decision

Notes 38I

(ibid.). In fact, civil war was impending. On this account, Bishop Fraser of St. Andrews had already written to Edward on the matter (October, 1290). From this letter we gather that Balliol was about to approach Edward on his own behalf. The "Seven Earls" appealed in support of their own rights to elect a king (Palgrave, p. 14). Bruce submitted his claim to Edward, as against the guardians, who favoured Balliol (ibid., pp. 17, 18). Hemingburgh says that the Guardians of Scotland, fearing a popular outbreak, by the advice of the magnates sent to the King of England, that in a matter of such great doubt they might have the benefit of his advice (ejus

consilio fruerentur, ii., p. 31).

as freyndsome compositur—i.e., "as a friendly arbiter" 88 (cf. Hemingburgh in previous note). Fordun urges that the appeal did not imply any confession of overlordship, but Edward was appealed to as a "friendly and distinguished neighbour, (amicabilis et vicinus præstantior), to settle the difference "in the manner of a friendly compositor and for the sake of neighbourliness" (Gesta Annalia, lxx.). The first notice in Sir Thomas Gray's Scalacronica puts it that the Scots asked Edward to interfere in the interests of peace, and that he replied that he would consider the matter. At Norham the Scottish magnates are said to have asked him to try the case as sovereign lord (pp. 112, 119).

100 Walis . . . Ireland. Edward I. crushed the main Welsh rising in 1282, and in 1284 annexed the principality. He took no special part in the conquest of Ireland, which

belongs to the reign of Henry II. (1171).

103 ryn on fute. This, I take it, reflects the fact that Edward usually drew upon Wales and Ireland for the foot in his army. At Falkirk, indeed, Hemingburgh says that nearly

all the English foot were Welsh. Cf. also XIII. 419 ff.
140 on Saracenys warryand. Edward was in England. His
crusading took place before he ascended the throne (1270-1272). The Scalacronica says he was at Ghent (p. 112).

146 ane assemble. Edward met the prelates and barons of Scotland at Norham, May 10, 1291. In his safe-conduct granted to these, Edward declares "that this shall not be a precedent to the prejudice of Scotland" (Bain's Calendar, ii., No. 474): i.e., their meeting him on English ground.

151 all the senyhowry. Edward had meanwhile (March 8, 23) sent writs to the cathedrals and chief monasteries of England, requesting to be furnished with extracts from histories and chronicles respecting the relations between England and Scotland. The responses are given in Bain, ii., No. 478, and Palgrave, pp. xcvii-cxv (see next note).

- 153 to Robert the Bruys said he. Palgrave points out that Bruce was the first to appeal to Edward as overlord, in conjunction with the "Seven Earls" with whom he was acting: all submitting themselves-relatives, friends, adherents, lands and goods-to the protection of the King and Crown of England (pp. xlviii, 15, 18). In this he finds nothing inconsistent with the speech here attributed to Bruce, which he takes, not from Barbour, but from Fordun, who gives the same account as Barbour of Edward's offer and Bruce's reply (Gesta, lxxii.). Palgrave regards the original historic supremacy as a vague imperial relation, to which Edward tried to give a narrow feudal precision (p. xliii). Bruce, he says, could properly regard himself "as the Laensman of the Monarch who represented the Bretwald, the Emperor or Basileus of Albion, or of Britain, and not the vassal of the King of England and Duke of Normandy" (p. xlix). Bruce, indeed, in one section of his pleadings addresses Edward as "his Sovereign Lord and his Emperor" (p. 29, § 6), but his pleading was against the purely feudal relationship (see on 58), the holding "in cheyf" (154), which would allow Edward the dominium or ownership of Scotland, as contrasted with the suzerainty, which would grant a power of control. Edward insisted on the former.
- 169 Assentyt till him. After a delay of three weeks (June 2-3, 1292), nine of the Competitors made full acknowledgment of the supremacy of the King of England; the others acquiesced on August 3 (Bain, ii. 483, 507). The issue was finally narrowed down to a consideration of the respective claims of Balliol and Bruce. Barbour is misleading.

171 He was king. Judgment in favour of Balliol was given on November 17, 1292, at Berwick. Balliol resigned "his kingdom and people to" the King of England on July 7, 1296, "a litill quhile," three years and seven months after.

- 173 For litill enchesone. Balliol was treated as an ordinary vassal, and finally summoned, with the Scottish magnates, to attend Edward on an expedition into France (June 29, 1294). Balliol, however, made a treaty with King Philip IV. In October he wrote Edward renouncing "the homage extorted from him by violence" (Bain, ii., No. 722). This was followed up by a raid into England in the spring of 1296. Meantime the government had been taken out of Balliol's hands, and was administered by twelve Scottish barons and prelates.
- 189 And stuffyt all. The list of castles and towns committed to Englishmen and Scottish supporters of Edward is given in Bain, ii., No. 853. Gray says Edward took possession of all the castles of Scotland (Scala., p. 123).

193 He maid off Inglis nation. The offices of Governor, Treasurer, and Justiciar, as well as minor ones, were filled by English-

men. Some of the appointments of Sheriffs, etc., are given in Bain as above, and in Stevenson's Historical Documents, II., pp. 90, 91. Barbour overstates the case.

194 That worthyt than sa ryth felloune. Gray says that the revolt of the conquered territories in Scotland under Robert Bruce was in great measure due to "the bad government of the ministers of the King, who governed them with too great harshness for their own personal gain" (qi trop asprement lez governoient pur singuler profit.—Scala., p. 140).

250 in disputacioun. For the "disputations" of clerks, cf. Chaucer, Nun's Priest's Tale and Franklin's Tale, 162.

259 I leve all the solucioun. As Mr. Neilson has pointed out (An English Miscellany, p. 383), this is a quite serious reference to a class of questions discussed by ecclesiastical lawyers. A whole book (ix.) is devoted to the Redditio Debiti Conjugali in the volume by Thomas Sanchez, one of the Salamanca doctors (De Sto. Matrimonii Sacramento; Venice, 1625). Chaucer's Wife of Bath has some characteristic remarks on the same subject:

> "Why sholde men elles in hir bookes sette That man shal yelde to hys wyf hire dette?" (Prologue to Tale, 129, 130. Cf. also 154, 155).

282 Put in presoun Sir Wilyham was. Sir William Douglas. "the bold" (le Hardi), joined Bruce and the other lords who followed Wallace in rising, and formed a camp at Irvine in July, 1297. When these submitted and surrendered, Douglas, for not fulfilling his terms of surrender, was confined in Berwick Castle. Thence he was taken to the Tower, where he died before January, 1299. His Scottish lands were given to Sir Robert de Clifford (cf. lines 285-7).

293 that hym ne dred. Cf. note on Bk. XX. 514. 313 James of Douglas. "James is, in general, dissyllabic in 313 James of Douglas. Barbour" (Skeat).
323 will off wane. See glossary, and note on Bk. II. 471.

339 Erle off Artayis. This is probably the Count Robert of Artois, who was a friend of Queen Isabella and her son Edward III. He was driven from France (Le Bel, i., chap. xix., and notes in ed. 1904). He wandered from place to place, after quarrelling with King Philip, for three years; then crossed to England, disguised as a merchant (1334), which fact Barbour probably has here in his mind (Mémoires de l'Académie Royale, vol. x., p. 635. Paris, 1733).

343 Catone sayis. Dionysius Cato, a writer of the fourth century. The reference is to his line, "To pretend foolishness is, at times, the highest wisdom " (Stultitiam simulare loco prudentia summa est. Disticha de Moribus, Bk. ii. xviii; Ed. Amsterdam, 1754, p. 178).

346 then come. See on 282. 354 the byschop. William Lamberton. Edward sent to the Pope a lengthy list of charges against Lamberton, who had broken his most solemn oaths of fealty and shared in the "rebellions" against him. He had, when Chancellor of Glasgow, supported Wallace, and had himself chosen Bishop of St. Andrews, on Fraser's death, without Edward's consent. Then, with other lords, he went to France to do all the mischief he could there against Edward, and sent letters of encouragement to Wallace. After the suppression of the rising, he again submitted and took the oaths (see on 412), and was made chief of the Guardians of Scotland. He was suspected of complicity in the murder of Comyn (see on 611), and immediately supported Bruce. Arrested after Methven, he was imprisoned with Bishop Wishart of Glasgow, though not guilty of so many perjuries as he. These two bishops (with the other Scottish clergy), were the principal "abettors and maintainers " of Bruce's rising (Palgrave, pp. 331-340; also Bain, ii., as indexed). Lamberton was released in 1308, on giving securities for good behaviour and swearing fealty to Edward II. (Bain, iii., No. 50). Thereafter he acted as a negotiator between England and Scotland (Bain, iii.). He was excommunicated, and was one of the four bishops (St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Moray) summoned by the Pope in 1319 to answer for their support of Bruce (Lanercost, p. 423). He died some time before June, 1329 (Bain, iii., p. 316).

356 forouth him to scher. So did Chaucer's Squire: "And carf biforn his fader at the table" (Prologue, 100).

381-2. But he wes nocht so fayr, etc. Cf. of Porrus, in the Alexander:

> " Bot he was nocht so fare suthly, That men need speke of him gretly, For he was broun red in visage " (p. 176).

399 And wlyspit alsua. Guido delle Colonne says that Hector "stammered a little in his speech" (parum vero erat balbutiens in loquela. See on 525): and so in the Gest. Hystoriale of Hector, "a little he stotid" (stammered) (line 3881).

403 Till Ector. In the Alexander that monarch is the incom-

parable hero:

"Bot Alexander I tak beforne, To him I mak na man compeir " (p. 110).

406 lovyt. "praised" (see Glossary).

412 Byschop Wylyhame. Lamberton, as Edward says, went to him at Stirling on May 4, 1304, and again took the oath of fealty, receiving from Edward's hands the temporality of his bishopric (Palgrave, p. 334). "Strevellyne," with several variations of spelling, is the usual form in contemporary records.

429 my fay feloune. See on 282.

455 thaim that. "Thaim" refers to the Scots; "thai" to the English. Barbour is particularly careless in the use of this pronoun. In 458" thai" is again the English, who were sometimes rather more ("erar may") in propor-

tion; in 460 "thaim" is the Scots.

466 in the Bibill. The deeds of the Jewish patriots, as recorded in the apocryphal Books of the Maccabees, were, of course, included in the Vulgate Bible of the Church. The rising of the Maccabees and their supporters against the over-rule of the Seleucids in the latter half of the second century B.C. was, for the medieval writers, the prime example of a national uprising against foreign dominance.

(See also Bks. II. 330; XIV. 313.)

477 I spak of ayr. Here Barbour appears to refer to the Competitor, last mentioned in line 153, thereby confusing him with his grandson Robert the King. Much grave reproof has accordingly been wasted upon the poet. According to Maxwell, the poem "has been almost irretrievably discredited as a chronicle by a monstrous liberty which the author takes in rolling three personages" (Competitor, Robert "the elder," and the King) "into one ideal hero" (Robert the Bruce, p. 6). Mr. Brown accuses Barbour of having "deliberately and consciously perpetrated the fabrication" of making his hero a trinity of these three (The Wallace and Bruce Restudied, p. 93). Barbour, it is to be observed, at worst only combines two, grandson and grandfather—he says nothing of the intermediate Robert; unless we force what is said in line 67 to this One chronicler alone distinctly achieves the feat of making the three one person-Geoffrey Baker of Swinbroke (pp. 100-1)—but so far he has escaped censure, and no one rejects his work on that account. Surely in Barbour's case it is but a striking case of his frequent carelessness of reference (see on 445). He started with King Robert, his subject, in line 25, and it is not too much to ask that "I spak of ayr" goes back to that point. This is a simpler way out than that inconsistently taken by Mr. Brown, who argues that, after all, the reading is probably wrong, and proposes to restore "the original" from Wyntoun's lines, a paraphrase of Barbour (p. 95). Wyntoun was not deceived, nor was anyone likely to be. Barbour had nothing to gain by purposeless perversity, not even a literary point as has been suggested, for the

"Romance" proper begins at line 445, and for it there is but one Robert.

478 swa tortayr. "Going to ruin." Cf. Gest. Hystoriale, "Fele folk forfaren," ready to perish (1438). Modern Scots in sense of "neglected," as in Thom's Mitherless Bairn;

"sairly forfairn."

485 Said till him. Gray gives a similar account of the alternative proposals here made, putting them, however, into the mouth of Robert Bruce, who, with him, takes the initiative, and stating that they were made upon the occasion of the meeting in the Greyfriars Church, where Comyn refused to listen to them. It must be remembered that Barbour admits the existence of various accounts. Gray supplies also the significant motive: "for now is the old age of the present English King" (qar ore est temps en veillesce de cesty roy Engles, p. 130). Bruce, in this account, speaks of the land being in servitude to the English by fault of Balliol, "who suffered his right and his freedom of the kingdom to be lost" (ge son droit et la fraunchise du realme ad lesse perdre, p. 129). The account in Fordun gives Bruce the initiative in making the offer on the ride from Stirling, and dates it 1304 (Gesta Annalia, cxiii.).

See note on Bh. II. 35.

525-6 Dares . . . and Dytis. These two represented to the medieval mind the more trustworthy authorities on the Siege of Troy; Homer, whom they knew only through the Latin classics, being obviously biassed in favour of the Greeks, a strong objection to historians who loved to attribute the beginnings of their nation to a colony of Trojan fugitives—e.g., Brutus, who founded Albion or Britain. Dares Phrygius, whose De Excidio Trojæ is merely a good-sized pamphlet, here comes first as the favourite. Figuring as a priest of Hephæstus, he gives the Trojan side. The point of the present reference is that he makes Troy fall by the treachery of Æneas and others, who admit the Greeks by night at the Scæan gate on the outside of which "was painted the head of a horse" (ed. London, 1825, p. 336); thus rationalizing the story of the wooden horse as he does Homer's other remarkable incidents. The book is in Latin, and is late —not much earlier than the twelfth century. It professes, however, to have been translated from a Greek manuscript found at Athens by the translator, Cornelius Dictys Cretensis, styled companion Idomeneus, stands for the Greek side, giving, however, a more impartial account than Homer. His MS. (Ephemeris Belli Trojani) was found, it is alleged, in Gnossus, Crete, in one of the tin (lead) coffers, examples of which have been found in the recent explorations of the great palace. It was translated from the original

Punic into Greek in the time of Nero and again translated into Latin. It is the older production of the two by a few centuries; both, of course, are fabrications. On them Benoit de Sainte-More based his Roman de Troie. which Guido delle Colonne turned into a Latin Historia Trojana and successfully passed off on the Middle Ages as his own work. Scotland came under the spell of Guido, and it is from him Barbour takes his information.

The account of the medieval romances of 533 throw pusoune. Alexander. He really died in 323 B.C., of a combination of malarial fever and hard drinking-which was much too tame an end for his admirers.

542 fryst maid emperour. A usual medieval error, but Julius Cæsar did not become Emperor. Chaucer says the same thing (Monk's Tale). Geoffrey of Monmouth speaks of "Iulius Cæsar and the rest of the Roman kings"—a double error (Edit. Giles, 1844, p. 176). See below on 554.

549 Als Arthur. Arthur's European conquests are enumerated in the contemporary, Morte Arthure, p. 2. The Eastern ones, such as "Surry" (Syria), follow the triumph over Rome.

554 Lucius Yber. "Sir Lucius Iberius, the Emperor of Rome," is a leading figure in Morte Arthure. Wyntoun observes that his correct title was Procurator, as the Emperor proper was Leo, but excuses the earlier author for calling him Emperor on that ground that,

> "Ane empyroure in propyrté (in especial) A comawndoure suld callyt be " (Bk. v., Chap. xii.):

i.e., Emperor is simple imperator. In fact, Geoffrey styles him "Lucius Respublicæ procurator" to begin, but in the account of his death, "Lucius imperator" (ed. cited, pp. 174, 198). In the Gest. Hystoriale, Agamemnon is Emperor" of the Greeks. On conclusions from this

passage, see Appendix F.I.C.

611 The endentur, the seile to se. Fordun, too, tells of "endentures" (indenturas) between the barons, and of Comyn's disclosure to Edward, but gives a different account of Edward's action and Bruce's escape. Wyntoun adopts Barbour's version in his own words, so that we may take it that, substantially, the story was the current explanation in Scotland. Gray, too, it must be remembered, drew upon a Scottish chronicle (see on 485 and Introd., ii). It may just be that there was a confusion as to the origin of the indenture which caused the mischief. There actually was an indenture or bond between Bruce and Bishop Lamberton, drawn up, too, in 1304, the year to which Fordun attributes that between Bruce and Comyn. In this the parties bound themselves to act together, in matters affecting them, against all persons whatever, and provided that neither should attempt any "difficult business" without consulting the other, and that, in the case of any peril threatening, each should warn and shield the other to the utmost of his power. The implication is clear: a fresh rising was in contemplation, probably on the death of Edward I. (cf. Gray in note on 485). A copy of this document came into Edward's hands—certainly not, however, through the agency of Comyn—and Lamberton was charged before witnesses at Newcastle on August 3, 1306. He was asked whether the seal was his (cf. line 612), and whether it had been affixed with his will and knowledge; to which he answered in the affirmative (Palgrave, 323-5). The story of this endenture may have got worked into what was known of Comyn's refusal to co-operate with Bruce. The records give no hint of anything else of the kind in Edward's possession, and the knowledge of it, had it existed, would not have been suppressed (see also note on Bk. II. 17).

625-6 into bourch, etc. I.e., Bruce pledges his lands as bail for his appearance. There is no record of such a Parliament,

nor is any such procedure at all probable.

## BOOK II.

17 Thai raid. The account in Fordun is that one night, "when the wine was giving its colour in the cup" (cum merum splenderet in calice), Edward, on his way to bed, explained that on the morrow Bruce would lose his life. Thereupon the hint of his danger was conveyed to Bruce by the Earl of Gloucester (i.e., Randolph or Ralph de Monthermer), in the form of twelve silver pennies and a pair of spurs (Gesta Annalia, cxiv.). Gloucester was presently in the field against Bruce. Edward declared that up to the time of the rupture, Bruce had enjoyed his "full confidence" (Fædera, ii., p. 988).

17 on the fyften day. Bower says the seventh day (Scotich, Lib. xii., Cap. vii.). But the news of Comyn's murder on February 10 seems to have reached Edward (at Winchester) not long before the 23rd, probably only a day or so (Bain, ii., No. 1746), and this would be carried quickly.

18 Louchmaban. Bruce's castle in Annandale.

32 Schyr Jhone the Cumyn. According to both Gray and Hemingburgh, Bruce first sent his two brothers, Thomas and Neil, to ask Comyn to meet him at Dumfries; Gray says that they might kill him on the way, which, to Bruce's disquiet, they failed to do; Hemingburgh that he might discuss with Bruce certain matters affecting them

both (Scala., p. 129; Chronicon, ii., p. 245). Sir John Comyn "the Red" was Balliol's nephew, the son of his third sister (Scala., p. 121), and his wife was a sister of Aymer de Valence. He came to Dumfries from Dalswintion, not far away.

33 In the Freris, at the hye awter. Edward informed the Pope that Comyn was murdered "in the church of the Friars Minor (Franciscans) of Dumfries, near the high altar" (Palgrave, i., pp. 335, 346). The "high altar" is part of the setting in all the accounts. The date is February 10, 1306.

34 with lauchand cher. Hemingburgh says they embraced in the cloister (mutuo se receperant in osculum, p. 245).

35

The endentur. According to Fordun, Bruce, on his way home, had met a messenger of Comyn carrying to Edward letters advising the imprisonment or death of Bruce. He had killed the messenger and taken the letters, and it was with these he now confronted Comyn (Gesta Annal., cxv.). Gray relates that Bruce now made Comyn the proposal described in note on Bk. I. 485, which Comyn refused to entertain, whereupon Bruce said: "I had other hopes of you from the promises of both you and your friends; you have betrayed me to the King by your letters, and, since you cannot live to accomplish my wish, take your reward "(pur quoi viaunt ne pusse eschever moun voloir, tu auras toun guerdon.—Scala., p. 130). Hemingburgh's version is that Bruce accused Comyn of treason, in that he had denounced him to the King of England, and lowered his standing to his loss (p. 246). Edward's account to the Pope is that Comyn would not assent to the treason which Bruce proposed—that is, to renew the war against him, and make himself, by force, King of Scotland (Palgrave, 335).

m reft the lyff. The other accounts are more detailed,

36 hym reft the lyff. The other accounts are more detailed, and agree in stating that Bruce merely wounded Comyn, and that his followers completed the work: "In the middle of the church, before the altar," says Gray; "on the steps of the high altar, which was stained with his

blood," according to Hemingburgh (as cited).

37-38 Schyr Edmund Comyn. . And othir mony. Barbour is wrong in the name; it was Sir Robert Comyn, John's uncle (Fordun, Lanercost, Gray, Hemingburgh, Palgrave, as cited). Sir Edmund fell at Bannockburn (Annal. London, p. 251). No other fatalities are mentioned. Hemingburgh adds that Bruce took the Castle and forced the English justices, then holding court, to surrender, but allowed them to depart in safety (p. 246).

40 that debat fell othir wayis. "That the quarrel came about otherwise." Barbour was familiar with, at least, another

version. Cf. previous notes.

67 drawyn and hangit. See note on Bk. IV. 322.

81 the byschop of Androws towne. On June 9 Lamberton writes to Aymer de Valence, Edward's lieutenant in Scotland, that no blame attached to him in the matter of the death of John Comyn and his uncle, or for the beginning of this war (Palgrave, p. 322).

86 Thomas prophecy. Thomas of "Hersildoune" is Thomas

of Ercildoune (now Earlston), or Thomas Rhymer whose alleged prophecies had a great vogue in Scotland for hundreds of years, especially at a national crisis. One such was current with the Jacobites of the Forty-Five. A MS. of the first quarter of the fourteenth century gives a long prediction by Thomas in answer to the question when the Scottish War should end (Thomas of Ercildoune, E.E.T.S., pp. xviii, xix). It contains the line, "When Bambourne (? Bannockburn) is donged wyth dede men." Cf. Bk. XIII. 336-340.

92 befor the byschop schar. See note on Bk. I. 356.

- 96 the burdys down war laid. I.e., the boards which formed the table were removed from the trestles after dinner.
- 107 wald disherys. Bruce's lands had been immediately confiscated and distributed to others (Bain, ii.; s.v. Earl of Carrick).

112 the Clyffurd. See note on Bk. I. 282.

II8 Ferrand. Also the name of the horse of Emynedus, Alexander's comrade, in the Alexander. "Ferrand" means "iron-grey," as in Morte Arthure: "one ferant stedez" (2259, etc.). Like "Blanchard" (white) a common name for a horse.

148 Aryk stane. At the head of Annandale.

179 wes maid king. On the Feast of the Annunciation, March 25,

1306 (Lanercost, 203; Hemingburgh, 247; Scala., 130). 187 went out our the land. Malise, Earl of Strathearn, presented a memorial to the King of England, explaining how Bruce, after his coronation, had summoned him to give homage, how he had refused at first, but was apprehended, and submitted in order to save his life (Palgrave, pp. 319-21). According to Hemingburgh, it was after Comyn's murder that Bruce went round Scotland (circuivit terram Scociae), seizing and fortifying castles, etc. (II., p. 246). There was scarcely time at that stage.

200-1 Schir Amer the Vallang. Sir Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, sent to put down Robert Bruce, etc., April 15, 1306 (Bain, ii., No. 1762). In Barbour's spelling the "g" is soft. Valence had taken an active part in the Scots' war since Falkirk, and figures, as before that date, in the Wallace. He was now about twenty-six years of

age and practically a professional soldier.

204 in all hy. Valence was to enter Scotland at once; the Prince of Wales and then Edward himself were to follow.

Edward, however, wished to hear of "some good exploit,

if possible, before their arrival" (Bain, ii., No. 1773). 205 And byrn, and slay, and rais dragoun. Edward, writing to Valence on June 12, is "well pleased to hear he has burned Sir Simon Fraser's lands in Selkirk Forest." He is "to do the same to all enemies on his march," "to burn, destroy, and waste their houses, lands, and goods" (Bain, ii., No. 1782). In later letters these commands are repeated for specific instances. On June 28 he is "referring to his orders to put to death all enemies and rebels already or hereafter taken" (No. 1790). The expression "rais dragoun" has been fully explained and illustrated by Mr. Neilson in the Scottish Antiquary, vol. xii., No. 48. His summary is as follows: "In the middle of the fourteenth century, and later, there was still prevalent the conception . . . that the dragon banner was a token of hostility more deadly than the ordinary conditions of feudal and chivalric warfare countenanced. Its display in every example adduced was against subjects in revolt, however supposititious, as at Crecy, the claim of sovereignty might be" (p. 151). The origin and development of this association is the subject of Mr. Neilson's article. Cf. also in Morte Arthure, "For there es noghte bot dede there the dragone es raissede !" (line 2057).

211 Philip the Mowbray. He is among those with Valence given by Gray (Scala., p. 130). See on Mowbray, Bk. XIII. 363.

212 Ingram the Umfravill. He had taken an active part in previous years on the national side. He is among the "Scotsmen and late rebels" who, on October 10, 1305, had their lands in Scotland and England restored on renewing their fealty to Edward (Bain, ii., No. 1696).

215 off Scotland the maist party. It is not clear what Barbour precisely means. But, according to Gray, Valence had with him several Scottish barons, friends of Comyn, opposed to Bruce (Scala., p. 130); and a fortnight before the battle Edward was requesting Valence "to inform the King's foresters of Selkirk how they have loyally and painfully served the King, and done well" (Bain, ii., No. 1782). Fordun says that Valence had in Perth "a great power of both English and Scots" (Gesta Annalia, cxix).

wyynax. I.e., Lennox, otherwise Levenauch. Malcolm "Comte de Levenaux" is on Ragman Roll (Bain, ii., 235 Levynax. p. 209). He was the fifth in the line of Celtic Earls. Ct. on 482.

Atholl is John de Strathbogie, Earl of Atholl. He was among the first to join Bruce, and it was by his advice that the safe-conduct to Strathearn was broken and the Earl confined in Inchmacolm (see on 187). He was captured after Methven, and, as he was of royal blood, was spared torture, but was hanged "higher than the rest " (Hemingburgh, ii., p. 250): on a gallows thirty feet higher (Scala., p. 131). He was alleged to be the son of Edward's aunt, but see Genealogist, N.S. xxii., p. 105.

236 Edward the Bruce. Robert's brother.
237 Thomas Randell. Thomas Randolph, the King's nephew, afterwards Earl of Moray. For his change of side, see on 463. Hew de le Hay is on Ragman Roll, apparently of Fife (Bain, ii., p. 204); brother of Gilbert de la Hay, afterwards Constable of Scotland and ancestor of the Earls of Errol.

238 David the Berclay. David de Berkele on Ragman Roll (Bain, ii., 209); of Cairns, in Fife (Hailes, ii., p. 2. Ed.

1797). Cf. on Bk. XIX. 19.

239 Fresale, Somerveile, and Inchmertyn. Fresale is "Alexander Fraser" (see line 407). Jamieson identifies him as "the brother of Simon Fraser, of Oliver Castle, in Tweeddale," which is Hailes's statement (Annals, vol. ii., p. 2), and Skeat follows, whence arises a serious confusion in Bh. VIII. 397. Sir Simon Fraser, "filius," of Oliver, to distinguish him from his father ("pater"), and grandfather of the same name, the hero of the English defeat at Roslin in 1302, was captured and executed as a traitor in 1306. His brother was Thomas Fraser, and neither seems to have left any descendants (Lord Saltoun's Frasers of Philorth, ii., p. 94). This Alexander Fraser was of the same stock, but was the elder son of Sir Andrew Fraser of Touch-Fraser, Stirlingshire, Sheriff of Stirling in 1293, and was afterwards Bruce's Chamberlain of Scotland (ibid., p. 125). He was not "Sir" Alexander till after 1312 (ibid., i., pp. 49, 54). Bruce granted him "Tulch-fraser" afresh (Reg. Mag. Sig., p. 17, 86). He had a brother Simon, but a different Simon from the one Jamieson refers to (see note on Bk. VIII. 397). "Fresale," Tamieson adds, "is still the vulgar pronunciation of the name in Lothian." John de Somerville was second son of Sir Walter de Somerville of Linton and Carnwath (Memorie of the Somervills, i., 83, 86). Inchmertyn is David de Inchmartyn, who was, according to Hailes, the ancestor of the Earls of Findlater and Airlie, and of Lord Banff (Annals, vol. ii., p. 3, note. Ed. 1797). John de Somerville and David de Inchmartyn are among the fifteen Scots captured at Methven and sentenced to death at Carlisle on August 4, without being allowed to plead, under the charge of "feloniously and wickedly slaying some of the King's liegemen" at that battle. They were all hanged (Bain, ii., No. 1811).

\*243 Cristall of Setoun. See line 418 and note on Bk. IV. 16. He was married to Cristina Bruce, Robert's sister (Bain,

ii., No. 1910): twenty-eight years of age.

\*244 Robert Boyd. Ancestor of the Viscounts of Kilmarnock (Robertson's *Index of Charters*, p. 6, No. 46). He was captured at Kildrummy (*Bain*, ii., No. 1829), but must either have escaped or been released, as he appears again.

See Bk. IV. 342; VIII. 415.
247 Sanct Johnstoun. Perth. The church was dedicated to

St. John.

- 248 bad Schyr Amery isch to fycht. Hemingburgh writes that Bruce sent a message that the English should either come out to fight or surrender (ii., p. 248); Gray that Bruce offered battle to the Earl (of Pembroke), and remained before the town from the early morning till after noon (Scalacronica, p. 130). Noon would be dinner-time. Trivet briefly says that Bruce "invited" Valence to come out and fight (Annals, p. 409); similarly Rishanger (Chronica, p. 230).
- 252 Schir Ingram. According to Gray, Pembroke acted on the advice of his Scottish lords, and lay low (se teint tot coy, p. 130).

279 bot gyf thai faile. "If they do not fail on their part."
301 on the morn cum. The English, "seeing they were fewer in number, cautiously replied that they would not come out then, because it was a feast day (Sunday, June 26), but would gladly fight with him on the morrow" (Hemingburgh, ii., p. 249. Cf. also Trivet's Annals, p. 410; Rishanger, Chronica, p. 230).

The English had calculated that the 305 went to the forray. Scots would be occupied in preparing food (Hemingburgh).

310 Ischyt in-forcely. At vespers (Hemingburgh: Trivet).
313 wes unarmyt then. Had put off his armour. Hemingburgh says they found the Scots carelessly resting (recumbentes secure: as cited); Trivet that they came on the Scots suddenly, and slew many unarmed (p. 410). Bruce and some others speedily armed themselves and resisted (ibid.).

319 on thair hors lap. According to Hemingburgh, the English attacked before all the Scots could mount. Gray says they formed up hastily, and all on horseback attacked the English (Scala., p. 131).

" For the victory of battle 330 For multitud mais na victory. standeth not in the multitude of an host " (I. Maccabees, Chap. iii., 19).

340-1 Cf. in Alexander:

" Quha for his Lord dois he sall be Harbreid with Angellis gle" (p. 21).

365 all the renk. Skeat has a note on this word explaining renk as "a rank of fighting men," and citing "the plur. form renges" in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* (Globe, *Chaucer*, A 2594). But while there is a form renk = rank, that is not the word or the sense here. The proper explanation comes from the Alexander, in such examples as:

"Ane renk about him hes he made, Quhair evir he straik nane him abade" (p. 145, 8-9). and

"Ane renk about him hes he maid,
He sparit nane that him abaid" (p. 231, 20-21);

while we have a similar use in the Morte Arthure:

"Ryde thrughte all the rowtte, rerewarde and other, Redy wayes to make, and rennkes full rowne."

Another passage from the *Alexander* gives us the sense in the setting and phraseology of the passage on hand:

"The woundit gave cryis and granes, Trumpettis and hornes blew atanes, It seemit all the countre quoh" (p. 412, 29-31).

Renk, then, has nothing to do with "rank," but signifies "an open or clear space"; here "all the place about them quaked." It is, in fact, our modern "rink," and appears to be a form of "ring," as in "prize-ring" (Skeat's Etymol. Dict.). It has nothing to do with "range" in the sense of "rove," as Mr. Amours thinks (Alliterative Poems, S.T.S.). Hactually reads rinke.

415 hynt hys rengyhe. The account in Gray is that Bruce's rein was seized by John de Haliburton, who let him go immediately when he saw who he was. The difficulty about recognition was due to the fact that Bruce showed no coat of arms, having on a white tunic (un chemys blank.—Scalacronica, p. 131). Hemingburgh says that all the mounted Scots, in their approach to Perth, had these white overalls (super omnia arma vestem lineam), so that they could not be identified (ii., p. 248).

438 corn-but. This reading for the obscure torn-but of E (t and c are often indistinguishable in MS.) and combat of H is due to Mr. George Neilson, basing on a passage in the Morte Arthure (Scottish Antiquary, July, 1902, p. 51). The "heathen king" is down with a mortal wound from Sir Cador, who exclaims:

ir Cador, who exciains:

"Thow has corne botte, sir kynge, there God gyfe the sorowe,

Thow killyde my cosyn, my kare is the less " (1837-8).

Though the general meaning of "revenge," "tit-fortat," is clear, no satisfactory analysis of the phrase has been offered. Skeat and Gollancz think that the first part of the term is French—corme, a horn "as the symbol of pride"—and that the compound signifies "a requital

for pride, a taking down." The passages will scarcely bear this. Moreover, bōt is admittedly old English—"remedy, atonement"—and one shies at a solitary compound in such a case. Mann-bōt was a fine paid to the lord of a murdered man; brycgbot was a levy for the repair of bridges; corn-gesc(e)ot was a contribution of corn. Corn-bot may thus have been a fine for the destruction of corn, and have taken on a general sense of requital or revenge. It does not seem to require the force of a specially intense revenge (auserlessene busse. Holshausen), but appears to have been a slang term, whence its rare occurrence in literature. It is not given in the New English Dic. (See further Scottish Antiquary, June, 1903, pp. 121-123; Notes and Queries, 9 Series, x. 61, 115, 253).

463 Thomas Randell. He was given in ward to Sir Adam de Gordon to be kept till the King's arrival in Inverkip Castle (Bain, ii., No. 1807). Gray says he was released at the instance of Gordon, when he remained English

till his recapture (Scala., p. 131).

467 sum that hangyt. See on 235, 239.
471 will of wane. "Astray in thought (weening); distracted, at a loss. Will=modern English wild, astray, bewildered (Icel. villr). Cf. in the Gest. Hystoriale: "All wery I wex and wyll of my gate" = out of my way (line 2369).

482 The Erle of the Levenax wes away. Fordun, however, says that Lennox and De la Hay alone followed Bruce, and became "his inseparable companions (comites individui) in every tribulation" (Gesta Annal., cxxi.). Cf. Bk. III.

591.

479 the Boroundoun. This name has puzzled editors and given rise to a good deal of conjecture. But a Sir Walter de Borondone was constable of Carstairs Castle in 1305-1306 (Bain, ii., No. 1880), and he is the same person as Sir Walter de Bourghdon, constable there in 1301-1302 (ibid., No. 1290), of Roxburghshire (ibid., p. 199). He was an English officer.

491 Schir Nele Cambell. Ancestor of the Campbells of Lochow, or Loch Awe, and so of the Argyll family. He married Mary Bruce, the King's sister, but not, it would seem, before 1312 (Scots Peerage, i., p. 323; but see on xvi. 119). The grant of "Lauchaw" was to their son Colin (Robert-

son's Index, pp. 16, 18).

494 the Month. "The mountain which is called the Mound, which stretches from the western to the eastern sea" (De Situ Albaniae, MS. Paris; cited in Historians of Scotland, Innes' Essay, p. 412). The modern Grampians.

513 Nele the Bruys . . . and the Queyn. Neil or Nigel (Nigellus)
Bruce was the King's brother. His Queen was Bruce's
second wife, a daughter of Richard de Burgh Earl of
Ulster.

514 othir ladyis. Fordun says all the ladies went with their husbands and the King, hiding in the woods, etc. (Gesta Annal., cxix.).

529 King Adrastus. One of "the Seven against Thebes," and the only one who returned home in safety. Barbour follows neither the Greek sources nor the Thebaid of Statius, but one of the many French romances on the subject. See Appendix F.

534 Campaneus. Properly Capaneus, who was struck with lightning by Zeus, whom he had defied, while attempting

to scale the walls of Thebes.

542 the tour. See note on Bk. XVII. 224.

## BOOK III.

- I The Lord of Lorne. Strictly this should be Alexander Macdougall of Argyll or of Lorn, but probably his son, John of Lorn, is meant, as on September 14 Edward writes to the Prince of Wales how "Sir John of Argyll has well served him and the Prince" (Bain, ii., No. 1830).
- 3 his emys sah. Alexander of Argyle, according to Wyntoun (Bh. viii., Chap. vi., 1171) had married an aunt of the murdered John Comyn, a daughter of Sir John Comyn "the Red" (!), of Badenoch, his grandfather. He was thus the "eym" or uncle of Comyn, not his nephew (Scots Peerage, i., 507).
- 15 thar fryst metyng. According to Fordun, this skirmish took place at Dalry ("the King's field"), near Tyndrum, in the west of Perthshire, on August 11, 1306 (Gesta Ann., cxx.). Bruce was making his way westwards by Glen Dochart. There is the usual "King's Cave" in Balouhidder (Iamjeson).
- Balquhidder (Jamieson).

  62 ane sik aw. "In such awe." For this form, cf. Alexander
  (78, 5), "he stude of thame lytill aw," and Wallace
  (Bk. v. 929), "On thaim he raid, and stud bot litill aw."
  This usage is a stage in the grammatical development
  of the modern phrase from the original type, "Awe of
  one stood men" (dat), for which see N.E.D.

  67 Marthokys sone. Jamieson suggests Marthok to be for

67 Marthokys sone. Jamieson suggests Marthok to be for Muratach (Muredach) = Murdoch; so "Marthokys sone" = MacVurich (MacMhuirich).

69 Fyn all. Here E gives hym all, which is clearly wrong. Skeat adopts Fyngall from H and A. Better, however, is the more ancient and correct form, Fyn, which the scribe has turned into hym, while the "all" is preserved to balance the "all" in the next line. Golmakmorn is

Goll mac Morna, head of the Clann Morna, the rivals of the Fianna, and the reference is to the detachment of members of his band from Finn by Goll; Finn, indeed, perished in a conflict with robal followers.

perished in a conflict with rebel followers.

75 in Gadyrris the forrayours. The reference is to one of the later episodes in the Romance of Alexander, appearing in the Scottish Alexander as The Forray of Gadderis (La Fuerre de Gadres). Alexander, while besieging Tyre, sends out a body of men to forage in the "vale of Josaphas." On their return with the cattle, they are set upon by a large army under Betys of "Gaderis," one of whose followers was Gaudifer. Only the timely arrival of Alexander saved his men, and, on the flight of Betys, Gaudifer maintained the struggle till he was slain. Skeat says that Barbour could not have used the Scottish translation, dated 1438, but "must have seen it in an earlier form." Lines 81, 82, however, correspond literally, with one exception, to the passage in the Alexander, and, according to Neilson, they have no place in the original French (John Barbour, p. 55):

"For to defend all the flearis
And for to stony the chassaris" (p. 88, 20).

Coneus (line 85) is there Corneus (pp. 88, 89), and Danklyne, Danclyne or Danclene—in the French original Corneus and Dans Clins. Cf. Brown's Wallace and Bruce, p. 101, where, however, Mr. Brown's transcription of the names in the Alexander must be checked; and see further Appendix E. In the Wallace there is a similar reference to The Forray, Bk. x. 340-2.

reference to The Forray, Bh. x. 340-2.

101 "the Durwarth sonnys." "The Durward or door-ward's sons," a translation of the Gaelic name Mac-na-dorsair, "son of the door-man." Skeat has a long note, contributed by Dr. Murray, claiming that "no writer seems to have seen the point of this passage." Reference is accordingly made to the trouble caused by Alan Durward in the reign of Alexander III., and the connection of Durward with Nicholas de Soulis, one of the Competitors (see also on Bh. XIX. II). Whence it is inferred that these "men were the clansmen of Alan the Durward, who, like the Comyns of Badenoch, the Baliols, and others, were almost more dangerous to Bruce than the arms of England." That can scarcely have been the case, since it must also be taken into account (I) that the Bruces were of the Durward party in the reign of Alexander III., and (2) that an Alan Durward was hanged with Nigel Bruce at Berwick, having, apparently, been

captured at Kildrummy (Scala., p. 131).

153 a baroune Maknauchtan. The chief of the Macnaughtons (? Ferchar or Farquhar), whose father was of the time of

Alexander. III., an ancient clan having lands near Loch Awe (Cf. Coll. de Reb. Alb., p. 51). There is no "Duncan" (Jamieson following Nisbet, Heraldry) in the genealogy.

162 his owtrageous manheid. Cf. in Alexander, "outtraghardement" (p. 184, 16). This use of "outrageous" outtragius extreme or excessive, is common, if not peculiar, to the Alexander and the Bruce. Cf. in Bruce, vi. 126; viii. 270; ix. 101; xi. 32: Alexander, 235, 8; 258, 30; 335, 9.

172 "sa our Lord me se." "May our Lord watch over me," as in Chaucer's Pardoner's Tale, "Now, lordes, God yow

see " (Group C, line 715).

208 Hanniball. The reference is to Hannibal's crushing defeat of the Romans at Cannae, 216 B.C. Barbour takes his details in a rather huddled fashion from Martinus Polonus, a popular monkish historian of the thirteenth century (Chronicon de Gestis Romanorum, etc.), who again bases on Paulus Orosius, of the beginning of the fifth century. Wyntoun confessedly reproduces the chapters of Polonus at greater length and more accurately than Barbour, and on this fact, viewed in the light of the general relation of Wyntoun to Barbour, and certain peculiarities in the present case, Mr. Brown bases an argument that the Hannibal passage is "derived from the Cronykil" and "an interpolation" in the Bruce. On this see Appendix F, v. Mr. Brown gives in full the relevant portions of the text of Polonus and Orosius (Wallace and Bruce, pp. 120-7).

211 thre bollis, etc. "Tres modios aureorum anulorum Carthaginem misit, quos ex manibus interfectorum nobilium extraxerat " (Mart. Pol.).

216 Scipio the king. For the medieval usage in titles, cf. also note on Bk. I. 554. Polonus calls Scipio Tribunus militum; Barbour (and Wyntoun) translate milites, from the contemporary use of the word, as "knights"; whence "the Tribune of the knights" naturally suggests the title "King," Wyntoun preferring "chyftane." Cf. also what is said in the footnote. It may, however, be considered that in the Alexander we have "Gaudifer the yhing" (121, 20), and "Ideas the yhing" (161, 26).
221 knychtis. Really only "soldiers" (milites fecerunt).

231 Thai ischit. Barbour hurries over the interval of four years between the Battle of Cannae and Hannibal's appearance before the walls of Rome, 212 B.C.

234 throw mycht of Goddis grace. Divina miseratio in Mart.

Pol. and Ovosius.

242 twys thar-eftir. No; only twice altogether. But Barbour is apparently summarizing from memory, though Mr. Brown repudiates the suggestion (p. 126).

281-2 That hym thocht, etc. From Lucan's Pharsalia. Nil actum credens, si quid superesset agendum (ii. 657).

337 Kildromy. Kildrummy Castle, in Aberdeenshire, on the Don, a royal castle which Edward had ordered Bruce, in September, 1305, to place "in the keeping of one for whom he shall answer" (Bain, ii., No. 1691).

365 H has flatly misunderstood this line, and Skeat's partial emendation therefrom introduces a use of the quhilk rare in Barbour (see on XVIII. 225). Moreover, as Koeppel further points out, the sense of the passage implies an antithesis such as E gives. The only difficulty is the redundant syllable yt, and for confort alone, cf. V. 210,

XV. 371 (Englische Studien, x., p. 380, note).
373 to the wynter ner. Kildrummy fell before the middle of September, 1306, but August is scarcely "near" winter,

even in Scotland.

"Follow out his fate (werdis) to the end." 390 hys werdis, etc.

392 Nele Cambel. See note on Bk. II. 491.
437 Ferambrace. The romance of Fierabras or Ferumbras (ferri brachium, "iron-arm" or "strong-arm") was the most popular of the Charlemagne romances. It still circulates among the French peasantry. There are two versions of it in English of the fifteenth century, Syr Ferumbras (E.E.T.S.) and The Sowdone of Babylone (E.E.T.S.). The latter also has the peculiar form Lavyne from Laban for Balan, the Sowdone or Sultan and father of Fierabras. On these points see Appendix F, III. Olyver (439) is Oliver, one of the "duk-peris" (440) or "twelve peers" (douze pairs) of Charlemagne, and Syr Ferumbras opens with the account of how he defeated Fierabras in single combat. which also begins the second division of the Sowdone. The French knights are, however, trapped by the Saracens and confined in the castle of Egrymor (441), or Aigremont, in Spain, but are released and joined by Floripas, the daughter of Balan, and make themselves masters of "the tower" (449). They are the twelve peers, though Barbour makes them "bot eleven" (444), probably with reference to the one who was slain in the defence. But they lack provisions, and news of their plight is carried to Charlemagne by Richard of Normandy (450). Charlemagne, who, supposing them slain, was on his way home to France, turned back with his army, seized the marble bridge over the river Flagot, which was warded by a giant, and captured the great tower of Mantrible on the other side (445). Thereafter Lavyne, or Balan, is defeated and captured, and, later, executed; the Christians recover from Floripas the sacred relics carried off by Fierabras from St. Peter's, Rome. The "sper" (459) is the spear with which the side of the crucified Jesus was pierced by the Roman soldier; the crown is the crown of thorns; "the naylis" are the nails with which he was fixed to the cross. In the Complaynt of Scotlande (E.E.T.S.,

p. 63) is a reference to the Tail (tale) of the Brig of the Mantrible. Readers of Don Quixote will recall "the balsam of Fierabras," which also figures in the romance. On Mr. Brown's treatment of this passage, see Appendix F, III.

"At a loss what to do"; red = "rede," counsel, 493 will of red. advice. See note on Bk. II. 471.

517 but anger. "Without trouble or sorrow."

561 To tell of paynys, etc. An allusion to Virgil: Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit (Æneid, i. 203).
 578 mony frely fute. "Many a handsome child" is Skeat's

explanation, taking "fute = fode, one fed or nourished " But in the Morte Arthure, Gawain says to Mordred. who was no child, "Fals fosterde foode, the fende have thy bonys" (3376); and "frely" also occurs as in, "Thow arte frely and faire," etc. (970); whence Barbour just means, "many a goodly or handsome person."
584 the hyde leve on the tre. "They left the skin on the wood of

the oars," being unaccustomed to the rough work of rowing.
588 To furthyr thaim, etc. "To carry them on in their floating."

658 our stycht. "Our fixed purpose or determination."

A.S. stihtan, to establish (Skeat). The Morte Arthure has the related verb, "styhtyll tha steryn men"—i.e., "place these stern men" (line 157): styhtlen, to dispose.

650 Angus of Ile. Angus Macdonald, known as Angus Oig 'the younger "). His elder brother, Alexander of Islay, or of the Isles, was in the English interest, and had married Juliana of Lorn, sister of John of Lorn. Their father, Angus Mor ("the big or elder"), had supported the Bruce party during his life, taking an active part with it in 1286. Angus also was English (Rot. Scot., i., 40, 41) till the appearance of Bruce. His lands were in Kintyre (see further Scots Peerage, i., 36, 37).
666 Donavardyne. The castle of Dunaverty, at the south end

of Kintyre. It was being besieged, for some days at least, before September 22, by the English pursuing Bruce (Bain, ii., Nos. 1833, 1834), who believed that he was inside (Hemingburgh, ii. 249; Trivet, p. 410).

680 Rauchryne. Now Rathlinn, off the north coast of Ireland towards Kintyre. Dean Monro (1549) calls it Rachlinn, but Jamieson gives ten variations of the name from Archdall's Monastic. Hibern., including Rachryne and Rochrinne, "from the multitude of trees with which it abounded in ancient times." Surprise has been expressed that Bruce should have chosen for retreat an island four miles off the Irish coast, which was within the territory of the Bissets of Antrim, strong English partisans, and in which he could be trapped by a fleet. Not, however, till January 29-30, 1307, do we find a fleet in being, supplied by Hugh Bysset and John de Mentieth, which was to Notes 40I

operate in "the Isles on the Scottish coast" "in putting down Robert de Brus and his accomplices lurking there, and destroying their retreat" (Bain, ii., p. xlix, Nos. 1888, 1889). Hemingburgh says (and Trivet, 410) that Bruce had gone "to the farthest isles of that region" (in extremas insulas, ii. 249). "Was lurking in remote island" is the account in Lanercost, p. 205.

688 strait off Marrok. The Strait of Gibraltar, so called also

by Chaucer in the Man of Lawes Tale.

696 the mole. The "Mull" of Kintyre. Gaelic maoil = a promontory, a borrow of the Norse muli. It is "le Moel de Kintyr" in an indenture in Bain, ii., No. 1941.

745 loud and still. A romance phrase for "in all ways,"
"under all circumstances." Henryson has it in his Robene and Makyne, "I haif thee luvit loud and still."

#### BOOK IV.

10-12 off na degree . . . Nothir of the kyrk, etc. The Lanercost writer notes that among those hanged at this time were not only "common folk and countrymen" (simplices laici et rurales), but also "knights, clerics, and prebendaries "-the latter in spite of their profession that they

were "members of the church" (p. 204).
13 tyschop Robert. Robert Wischard, or Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow since 1273. He had been, at one time, a Guardian of the Kingdom, and up to 1306 had taken the oath of fealty to Edward six times. He had taken a share in the rising of Wallace, had absolved Bruce for his murder of Comyn, and had furnished the robes for his coronation, further stirring up the people by declaring that to fight against Edward was as meritorious as to go on a Crusade. Edward sent to the Pope a long list of charges on these lines (Palgrave, pp. 340-350). He was captured, "as a man of war," in the castle of Cupar, Fife, shortly before June 18 (Bain, ii., No. 1780; Palgrave, p. 349); at which Edward was "almost as much pleased as if it had been the Earl of Carrick" (Bain, ii., 1786). He was kept a prisoner till after Bannockburn (see note on Bhs. I. 354, XIII. 687; and Scot. Hist. Rev., vol. v., pp. 86-88).

14 Marcus of Man. Mark, Bishop of Sodor (i.e., of the "Sudereys," the "South Isles," or Hebrides, or of Man and the Isles), had been imprisoned with Wishart in 1290. He had taken a prominent part in Scottish affairs on the national side, and had been one of the "auditors" in the case of the Competitors (Palgrave, p. 53). Apparently, however, he had died some years before, in 1303, so that Barbour is post-dating his imprisonment (Keith's Cata-

logue of Scotlish Bishops, ed. 1824, p. 301).
16 Crystoll of Seytoun. See note on Bk. II. \*243. Hemingburgh says he was captured in "the castle of Lochdor, for which we should probably read "Lochdon," which fixes the reading in the text (Hem., ii. 250). Lochdon or Loch Doon, source of the river Doon, in Ayrshire, had a castle of which Sir Gilbert de Carrick, ancestor of the Earls of Cassilis, was hereditary keeper. Its traitorous surrender was the subject of a remission " of all rancour of mind conceived" on this account by King Robert to Sir Gilbert (Reg. Mag. Sig., i., p. 115, 8). The castle was being besieged on August 10 by Sir Henry de Percy, and had fallen before October (Bain, ii., Nos. 1819, 1841). Jamieson had identified his "London" with Lochdon, and has a long note on the matter.

19 Maknab. In the remission above referred to, the castle is said to have been surrendered "into the hands of the English" by Sir Gilbert's son-in-law, when Seton was

given up.

29 in Ingland. In this Barbour seems to be wrong. Hemingburgh says Edward ordered him to be taken to Dumfries, and there to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded (ii. 251). Gray, too, says he was executed at Dumfries, but erroneously adds that he had been captured at Kildrummy (Scala., p. 131). He was "the late" Christopher de Seton on October 4 (Bain, ii., No. 1841). Hemingburgh and Gray both explain that Seton was an Englishman, and had killed a knight at Dumfries. Bruce founded and endowed a chapel to his memory near that town

(Robertson's Index, p. 13, No. 89). 36 Schyr Ranald Crauford. Sir Ranald, or Reginald, Crauford, Edward's Sheriff of Ayr in 1296 (Bain., ii., No. 853). Under March, 1307, there is a list of rewards by Edward to Dougal Macdowall and others of Galloway for the capture of "Sir Ranald de Crauford and other enemies" (Bain, ii., No. 1915), these being Robert's brothers Alexander and Thomas, and their friends, who made a descent on Galloway, with the result stated above,

February 17, 1307 (Lanerc., p. 205; Bain iv. p. 489).

37 Schyr Bruce the Blair. As Jamieson points out in his note, the reading "Bruce" (S) should more properly be Bryce or Brice. Sir Bryce was an ancestor of the Blairs of Blair, in Ayrshire. In the Wallace it is "Schyr Bryss the Blayr" (Bk. vii. 209). Conversely Brys for Bruce (IV. 61, etc.).

38 a berne in Ar. The Bruce being undoubtedly one of the

sources of the Wallace this is—in part, at least—the origin of the famous outrage of "The Barns of Ayr," there told in Bk. VII. as before the Battle of Stirling Bridge, 1297. Crawford and Blair are expressly named among the sufferers on that occasion. Crawford is claimed as Wallace's uncle (Bk. i. 25-27).

39 dame Marjory. Bruce's daughter by his first wife, Isabel, daughter of Donald Earl of Mar. She afterwards married

Walter, the High Steward (see Bk. XIII. 689).
47 the gyrth of Tayne. The enclosure or "sanctuary" attached to the chapel of St. Duthac, at Tain, Ross-shire, a favourite place of pilgrimage with the Scottish kings, especially James IV. There was, however, no privilege of sanctuary for treason. William Earl of Ross was in the English interest, and on May 20, 1308, is the recipient of thanks from Edward II. "for faithful service to his father and himself" (Bain, iii., No. 43). Hemingburgh says" the new Queen" was taken in Kildrummy (ii. 249); Gray that Cristina Bruce was captured there, and the Queen and Nigel Bruce in Dunaverty (Scala., p. 131); Trivet agrees with the second statement, but obviously confuses (p. 410); according to Fordun the Queen was taken at Tain, and many ladies at "Kyndrumy" (Gesta Ann., cxx.).

49 thai of Ros. Fordun says the Queen was seized at St.

Duthac's by the Earl of Ross (Gesta Ann., cxx.).

55 put the ladyis in presoune. On November 7, 1306, there are "further orders for the custody of the Countesses of Carrick (the Queen) and Buchan, Marie, and Christine, the sisters, and Margerie the daughter, of Robert de Bruce . . . three of the ladies to be in 'kages.'" (Bain, ii., No. 1851). The Countess of Buchan, who had crowned Bruce, was to be placed in a cage of wooden bars and lattice in one of the turrets of Berwick Castle (Palgrave, p. 358; Scala., p. 131); Marie Bruce in a "kage" in Roxburgh (Palgrave, 359); Marjory in a "kage" in the Tower of London 359); Cristina in ward in England (*ibid*.). The Queen was to be in custody at "Brustewik" (p. 357); was removed thence by an order of June 22, 1308 (*Bain*, iii., No. 48). Marjory was in ward at Wattone in March, 1307 (Bain, ii., 1910). By 1311-1312 Maria de Brus is a prisoner in Newcastle (Bain, iii., 227, 340).

57-65 The Cambridge MS. begins at line 57. Lines 59-66 do not read satisfactorily in either MS., and the text is a

composition from both with a view to clearness. 80 And set a sege. The Prince of Wales was in command at Kildrummy when it fell, shortly before September 13 (Bain, ii., No. 1829). Gray says the castle was invested by Thomas Earl of Lancaster and Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford (Scala., p. 131).

83 He bad distroy. Cf. note on Bk. II. 205.

- 96 bargane at the barras. "Barras" or "barrace" is a "barrier" or outwork before a fortress, usually of wood. Ct. Wallace:
  - "Off hewvn temvr in haist he gert thaim tak Syllys off ayk, and a stark barres mak "(Bk. x. 829-30).
- 115 the mekill hall. One form of the tradition is that the corn or forage was stored in the chapel of the castle and there set on fire (O.S.A., xviii. 417); another, that on the east side is the "Black Lardner," so called because it was burnt in the siege (Macfarlane's Geog. Coll., i., p. 29). Fordun says simply that the castle was lost by treachery (Gesta Annalia, cxx.).

134 wes battalit all, etc.—i.e., had battlements on the inside of the wall, as well as on the outside. The former case was unusual, but fortunate here because the besieged could

thus shelter themselves from the fire within.

181 Snawdoune. Kildrummy is said to have had seven towers, of which one on the west side still stands, with the name of the "Snow Tower" (Geog. Coll., i., p. 28). There was a "Snowdoun" also at Stirling, and Sir David Lindsay, in the Complaynt of the Papingo, addresses Stirling Castle as "fair Snowdoun." Nisbet speaks of a Snowdoun Castle in the county of Ross as an ancient residence of the Scottish kings (Heraldry, ii. 166). The name is, undoubtedly, old, and in its present form probably a

corrupt assimilation to more familiar syllables.

189 in-to Northumberland. Edward was certainly in Northumberland in the autumn of 1306, being at Newcastle on August 8 (Bain, ii., No. 1816), at Newburgh, in Tynedale, August 28 (Fædera, ii., p. 1018). He was delayed in Northumberland by sickness but passed the winter of 1306-1307 at Lanercost, near Carlisle, to which, on "account of old age and weakness," he came by easy stages in a horse-litter, arriving on September 29, and staying till Easter of the following year, March 26, 1307 (Chron. de Lanercost, p. 205). Barbour thus antedates his death, which took place at Burgh-on-Sand, "three (about five) miles north of Carlisle," on July 7, 1307 (ibid., 207; Hem., ii., p. 266).
211 In Burch I wist weill, etc. This is a familiar type of story,

the "dowbill undirstanding," told of several historic personages: of Henry IV., to whom it had been prophesied that he should die in Jerusalem, and who died in the "Jerusalem chamber," Westminster (Shakespeare's 2 Henry IV., Act IV., Scene 5); of Cardinal

Wolsey, and others.

220 Ane spirit. Archbishop Sharpe was reported to have a "familiar spirit," which he carried in a snuff-box in the form of a bee!

241 Erle Ferrandis moder. Ferrand was an historical personage, a Prince of Portugal, who, by marriage, became Earl of Flanders. The story of the oracle which can be read in two ways, is also one of which there are many examples from that of the utterance of the Delphic oracle to Crossus, as told by Herodotus. Ferrand is in the Morte Arthure:

> "One sir Feraunt before, upon a fayre stede, Was fosterde in Famacoste, the tend was his tadyre" (2760-61).

Famacoste is Famagosta, in Cyprus.

249 Bosbek or Busbecq was in Flanders, west of Courtrai.

253 in Inglis. Barbour calls his own language English, as the Scots poets do down till the fifteenth century (see on Language, Appendix G).

256 Mynerff. Minerva, the Roman goddess of wisdom, etc. For the early and mediæval Christians, the ancient deities

were demons.

282 in the fechting. Ferrand and the Emperor Otho IV. were defeated at Bouvines, between Lille and Tournai, July 27,

1214.

322 "hangis and drawis." It was Edward I. who regularized the horrible form of punishment allotted to traitors, several examples of which have already been noted. The victim was first drawn by horses on a rough cart through the principal streets, as Fraser was through the streets of London, then hanged, next taken down before he was dead and decapitated. The head was then stuck up on a public place, if the victim was sufficiently notorious, and the limbs might be similarly exposed, as was done with Wallace. Fraser's heart and entrails were burned, and his body was again hung up till about three weeks afterwards, when it and the gallows were burned together. For Fraser's case, see Ann. Paul, pp. 148, 149. For the grammatical forms, see Appendix H.

336 To King Robert. The narrative now goes back to the closing

months of 1306.

338 till the wyntir neir wes gane. Too long a period. On February 1, 1307, Edward is ordering out ships to hunt for Bruce "towards Ayr" (Bain, ii., 1893).

1-to Kintyre. Hemingburgh has it that about Septem-

367 In-to Kintyre. ber 29, 1306, Bruce came back from the islands and waited in Kintyre, and sent some men over to Carrick, who lifted his rents for Martinmas. Trivet has an account which is simply a careless abridgment of Hemingburgh (Hemingburgh, ii. 251; Trivet, 410). Nothing is said of Arran, but these writers are not strong in geography. Hemingburgh says Bruce had a force of "Irish" (Hibernicis) and Scots (ibid.). "Irish" suggests Rathlin, or they may be west-islanders.

384 Schir John the Hastyngis. Sir John de Hastings had been the most important of the Competitors, next to Balliol and Bruce, being the grandson of the youngest daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon. On May 22, 1306, he received from Edward a grant "of the Earldom of Mentethe in Scotland, with the Isles" (Bain, ii., No. 1771). In July or August, 1307, he is one of the garrison of Ayr Castle (ibid., 1901).

388 Brathwik. Brodick.

- 421 neid to fourty. In line 405 he says the English were in all "thretty and ma"!
- 464 The King arivit. On the west side of the island, opposite Campbelltown, is the King's Cove, where, as tradition says, "King Robert de Bruce and his retinue lodged... for some time when taking shelter in retired places" (Old. Stat. Acct., vol. ix., p. 167).

(Old. Stat. Acct., vol. ix., p. 167). 466 in a toune. Not "in a town" in the modern sense, but in the Scots meaning of any group of houses or buildings—

e.g., a farm " toun."

- 556 Turnberys snuke. Turnberry Point, on the coast of Ayrshire, the site of the castle of the Earls of Carrick. The castle was in possession of Henry Percy, to whom Edward had granted Bruce's Earldom, as is stated in lines 599-600 (Hem., ii. 251). The point at Berwick was known as "le Snoke" (Hist. Docts., ii. p. 160). S reads "nuk" from C.
- 682-3 Jeromy = Jeremiah. Ysay = Isaiah.
  720-1 "The constellation that gives to them kindly manners" i.e., natural dispositions. Cf. "kyndly" = naturally, in line 735. For "manners" = character, cf. Chaucer.
  The Dethe of Blaunche:
  - "She used gladly to do wel,
    These were hir maners everydel" (1012-13).
- 747 Nigramansy. "Necromancy," or the art of revealing the future through communication with the dead (Gr. nekros, a dead body); appearing in mediæval Latin as nigromanteia; O.F., nygromancie, the first part of the compound being confused and identified with Latin niger, black—whence "the black art."
- 753 the Phitones. The Pithoness or Pythoness, which usually appears in the M.E. writers as in the text. Cf. Chaucer's Hous of Fame, iii. 171: "And phitonesses, charmeresses," etc. Pythia was the oracle-giving priestess of Apollo at Delphi; hence a woman who prophesies or divines. The name was given, as in the reference here, to the witch of Endor (1 Chron. x. 13), as in Bacon, Prophecies, etc., "Said the Pythonissa to Saul," etc.

#### BOOK V.

- were. "In spring"—February, 1307 (see note on Bk. IV. 338.) The description here is really of the "Poets' May." I in vere.
- 23 na nedill had na stane; i.e., neither an actual needle magnetized, nor a piece of magnetic iron, loadstone, to serve as a compass.
- 24 in-till ane. "In a straight course," guiding themselves by the fire.
- 90 till the toune. Cf. note on III. 556. Hemingburgh's account is that Bruce, coming on him suddenly, attacked Percy by night and slew a few of his company (ii. 251). Cf. 95, etc. Fordun says Bruce captured and destroyed one of his own castles, slew the garrison, and divided arms and other spoils among his men (Gesta Annalia, cxxi.). This is not Barbour's version, which is the right one. Ct. on 107, 118.

104 Makdowall. Probably, as Jamieson suggests, the Dougall Macdowall who, about this time, defeated and captured Bruce's brothers in Galloway. See on Bk. IV. 36.

107 In the castell. See above on 90. According to Hemingburgh, "Bruce besieged Percy in the castell till the siege was raised by an English army" (ii. 251). There were desertions, February 18, among troops called out to deal with Bruce (Parliam. Writs, i., p. 379).

118 All haill the reif. Bruce had captured their steeds and silver plate (Hemingburgh, as cited); steeds and much other spoil (Trivet's Annals, p. 410).

133 a lady of that cuntre. Fordun says that Bruce was assisted in returning to Carrick by Christian "of the Isles," who "had a kindness for him" (Gesta Annalia, cxxi.), but the lady here would seem to be of Carrick, and a relative. Cf. on Bk. IV. 367. Fordun is probably right as to the name, and Barbour as to the location, for "Cristiane de Carric" had, afterwards, a pension of forty shillings "at the King's (Robert's) pleasure" (Excheq. Rolls, i., p. 114). \$
151 the Erle Adell. See on Bk. II. 235.

There were others who were 153 till his party war heldand. no longer "inclining" to his party; Allan, "late Earl of Menteith," Sirs Patrick de Graham, Hugh Lovel, William de Moray of Sandford, Walter de Moray, and other adherents, had "come to the King's (Edward's) peace to be in law" in November of the previous year; and Thomas Randolph, too, had gone over (cf. Bk. II. 463 note).

156 Cristole of Setoun. See note on Bk. IV. 16.

- 174 Bot guhar worschip; i.e., in fair fight on the field of battle.
- 192 Bot lay lurkand. On February 6 there is a letter from Edward to the Bishop of Chester, his Treasurer, expressrequesting him to order Valence, Percy, Sir John de St. John and others to send particulars of what they are doing and of the state of affairs. He states also that "he hears they have done so badly that they do not wish him to know" (Bain, ii., No. 1895). On February 11 there are letters to the same effect, sent direct to Valence, the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, St. John, and Percy (ibid., 1896).

203 Schir Gauter the Lile. Sir Walter de Lisle. 205 schavalduris. Skeat explains this as "wanderers," and says "the right form seems to be shaveldour, a vagrant" (Glossary). Jamieson takes it to mean "wanderers in the woods, subsisting by hunting." There were bands of "schavaldurs" on the Border, who robbed and plundered (Bain, iii., No. 675); but John de Harcla had schavaldurs" in his employment (ibid., p. 128). Clerk "Helias" was a schavaldus nobilis (Stevenson, p. 2; Bk. XVI. 441 note). The exact force of the word is not yet clear. Probably they were what later times knew as "broken men."

231 the Clyffurd. Cf. note on Bk. I. 282. Ancestor of the Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland.

256 Toward Douglas. In the valley of the Douglas (Gael: dubh glas, black water), a tributary of the Clyde, in Upper Lanarkshire. In Bain's Calendar is a petition from one of the garrison in Douglas Castle, "when Sir Robert de Brus and Sir James de Douglas attacked it, the year when the late King (Edward I.) died " (iii., No. 682).

anvent. "Homage"; Scots form of "manred" (A.S. mannraéden, homage, allegiance). "Bonds of manrent" are a familiar form of association with some great noble

in later Scottish history.

307 Palme Sonday. March 19, 1307.

317 mantill. For long a mantle or cloak was the upper garment of the Scots, rich and poor.

336 Sanct Brydis. The church of Douglas was dedicated to St. Bridget, or Bride, a Celtic Saint.

388 With burdys set. On trestles, as the dinner-table. Cf. note on Bk. II. 96.

403 "Knocked out the heads of the wine barrels."

410 the Dowglas Lardenere. "The Douglas Larder," a North English and Scottish form of A.F. lardiner: here with the double meaning of a store of food and a slaughter. For the latter, cf. "The knyghtes of the round table made soche lardare through the field" (Merlin, cited

N.E.D.). In the Alexander it is said of the slaughter accomplished by Porrus:

"Of handis and heidis baith braune and blude He maid ane lardnare quhare he stood " (p. 233, 5).

Dr. Neilson says, "there is nothing corresponding in the French," and claims that the lines in the Bruce are the source of the "lurid and telling phrase" (John Barbour, p. 56). But this does not follow, as the word occurs in this sense elsewhere (see N.E.D.), and the simple sense of "slaughter" in the Alexander is not quite parallel to the full significance of the word in the Bruce, where the "meile, malt, blude and wyne" fill out the suggestiveness of its use. According to Hume of Godscroft, the Douglas historian, the "wyne-sellar" of line 399 is identified with a cellar "called yet the Douglas Lairder" (History of the House of Douglas, p. 28, ed. 1644).

460 The thrill-wallis. May be "John de Thirlewal, vallet of Sir Adam de Swynburne," who, "with a barbed horse," was one of a company hunting Bruce in Glentrool, April,

1307 (Bain, ii., p. 572). 483 Schyr Ingrame Bell. Evidently a misreading of "Ingrame Umphrevell," as is clear from Bk. VI. 3; not the other way, as Skeat puts it. There was no such person as "Bell." Umfraville was holding Cumnock Castle on May 18 (Bain, ii., 1931). Later in the year he is at Ayr, July or August, sent there by Valence (ibid., No. 1961).

575 about his hals. Hung from his neck. A two-handed

sword too long to be supported by a waist-belt.

642 toym. "Leisure." Modern Scots toom = empty; not time. The distinction is clearly marked in the Gest. Hystoriale: "But this tyme is so tore (inconvenient), and we no tome have " (644).

# BOOK VI.

3 the Umphrevell. See Bk. V. 483, 513, etc. 69 Gilbert de la Hay. See note on Bk. II. 237. 120 "Since he was provided with armour."

"Needed." The word occurs once in Morte 121 thurt. Arthure, in the present impersonal: "Hym thare be ferde (afraid) for no faces " (403). Cf. also Bk. VIII. 257.
128 For litill strynth of erd. "On account of a slight natural

defence in the character of the ground."

149 fiff-sum. "Five together." The compound is still familiar in Scotland-e.g., a "three-some reel," a "four-some" in golf. Ct. "sex-sum" in line 231.

- 170 The story is from the Thebaid of Statius through some intermediate source which cannot now be identified. See  $Appendix F, \S iv.$
- 195-6 "First the one should reign a year, then the other for a year from the expiry of the previous term," and so on.

201 his constabill. Defined in the Alexander:

"That of the duke's hoist all hale, Was constabill and chief ledere " (73; 14, 15).

252 the gret anciente. "Through its great antiquity."

314 "Then they praised greatly God the all-mighty." The comparative fastar is in Bk. XIII. 129.

- 316 Thaim byrd. "It behoved or was necessary for them."
  (O.E. byrian, impersonal verb). Cf. "Sa byrd al Galouya hyme honoure" (Lives of the Saints, Ninian, 932): "Me byrd be blyth" in same (Martha, 152). Frequent in the
- Alexander. Cf. on Bk. I. 381. 336 Worschip extremyteis has twa. Valour as a mean between two extremes is an Aristotelian notion (cf. line 347).

339 "And they are both to be avoided."

- 341 "Things which should be left alone as well as those which should be done " (cf. lines 348-9).
- 463 In Cumnok. A town and parish in Kyle, Ayrshire.

481 Johne of Lorn. See note on Bk. III. 1.

- 483 aucht hundreth men and ma. On July 19, 1307, there is a command from Aymer de Valence, the King's lieutenant. for aid to John of Lorn "guarding the town of Ayr and parts adjacent." Lorn had 22 men-at-arms and 800 foot, so that Barbour's statement is remarkably accurate, while his details enable us to fix the date of the events (Bain ii., No. 1957).
- 484 A sleuthhund. Jean le Bel has a reference to some such occurrence as this, though he credits it to Edward I., and distorts the course of events. He explains that one time Edward had Robert Bruce chased through great forests for the space of three or four days, "by dogs and sleuthhounds " (par chiens et limiers), and gives as his authority not only popular report (ce dit on), but also "an account composed by the said King Robert" (et le treuve on en hystoire faitte par le dit roy Robert. Chronique i., chap. xxii.). Sleuth-hounds were common for police purposes: "That thar sal nane lat (obstruct) a sluthe hund passand or the men that are cumand with hym for to follow theyffis or to tak mysdvaris," etc. (1289) (Acta Parl. Scot., I. 108). See on VII. 17.

487 a strecour. A fast runner, a dog for the chase; from the verb streke, to go rapidly (Skeat).

503 his emys sak. See note on Bk. III. 3. 507 Schir Amery. Valence is at Glenken, Kirkcudbrightshire, on July 24, and at Doon-side on July 31, 1307 (Bain ii., Nos. 1958, 1959).

510 Thomas Randale. Thomas Randolph, on the English side. See note on Bk. II. 463.

558 "He would pay no attention to the others."

650 Out of dawis doyn. "Done out of days"—i.e., killed.

657 yhow ane. "Yourself alone"-a rather awkward expression, but the reading in H supports E.

665-6 "As they did not fear me, I could do them much more

harm."

## BOOK VII.

2 will of wayn. "Wild of weening" or thought—i.e., quite at a loss. See on II. 471.

10 yhe. Ye from an inferior to a superior; you on the part of

the latter, as in line 15.

In a note to the Wallace, Bk. v. 25, Jamie-17 I haf herd, etc. son cites from "Bellenden, after Boece," a long passage on bloodhounds, in which this occurs: "And thocht the thevis of tymes cors the wattir, quhair thai pas, to caus the hound to tyne the sent of thaym and the guddis, yit he serchis heir and thair with sic deligence, that be his fut he fyndis baith the trace of the theiff and the guddis" (Description of Albion, chap. xi.). See on VI. 484.

48 "And he is a good distance off by this time."

90 price and loving. "Honour and praise." Cf. 99, 294. "Were armed equally well," 103 war bodyn all evynly. equipped for fighting.
132 bryng hym than of daw. "Bring him then out of day"—

i.e., kill him. Cf. on Bk. VI. 650.

163 housis. MSS. give "hous" with flourished "s," here expanded to "is." See Preface 3.

panded to "is." See Preface 3.

177 slep. "To sleep," infinitive, not a substantive.

188 as foul on twist. "Like a bird on a bough."

\*302 to-waverand. "To-wavering"—i.e., distracted, uncertain. Waverand occurs in line 112 above, and in the Wallace in "waverand wynd" (Bk. iv. 340). "To" is intensive—German zer. In Morte Arthure we have "to-stonayede" = astounded (1436) and "to-briste" = burst asunder (3982). Skeat gives for the text, "wandering uncertainly in different directions," but "her and thar" follows.

thar "follows.
330 nakyt. "Without armour," as always in the poem.
423 for Jhon Cumyng's sak. That this feeling did operate in certain quarters we gather, further, from a story told in the Scalacronica, citing "the chronicles of his (Bruce's) actions," in which two men ferry Bruce, whom they did not know, over a passage between two islands. They ask about Bruce, and express a wish that they had him in

their hands, that they might kill him. Bruce inquired why, and the answer is, "Because he murdered John Comyn, our lord." This incident is placed after Loudon Hill, and the precise locality is not mentioned. Bruce discloses his identity in parting from them (Scala., pp. 132-3).

455 top our teill. "Top over tail," head over heels. The

phrase occurs in the Alexander (72, 8). 468 till him dreuch. "Drew the man towards him."

494 Glentruell. Glen Trool and Loch Trool are in the west of Kirkcudbright. See below on 622.

497 the deir war in sesoun. June or July, and so after Loudon Hill in Bk. VIII.

561 the Clyffurd. Sir Robert Clifford. See note on 622 and on Bk. I. 282.

589 his baneour. "His banner-bearer," as in Morte Arthure, "He byddys his baneoure, Buske yow," etc. (3732).

622 Vaus. "Vaux"=de vallbus, like Clifford, a Cumberland family. Sir John de Vaus is on service under Valence against Bruce in June, 1307 (Bain, ii., No. 1938). We have a set of memoranda relative to expeditions against Bruce in Galloway, dated February 12 to May 3, 1307, for wages to horse, foot, and archers under different commanders, "in the valley of Nith," "beyond the water of Cree," "Glentruil, riding in search of Robert de Brus," "on the raid to Glentruyl, against said Sir Robert," "in Carrick and Glentruyl"; and among the leaders is in Robert de Clifford (Bain, ii., No. 1923).

623 raucht him a colè. "Reached him a blow." Skeat explains colè as from O.F. colee, from col (cou), the neck. Cf. accolade, a blow with the flat of a sword in dubbing a knight.

624 "Both drew up their men in sides," for a fight.

632 than he com of toune. "Than when he set out," a general phrase.

## BOOK VIII.

9 Kyle. The central division of Ayrshire, between Carrick to the south and Cunningham (13) in the north.

14 He gert helde. "He made to submit" (O.E., hieldan, to incline; Anglian haeldan). Cursor Mundi, "All folk to

Rome suld heild " (22,235, N.E.D.).

15 Bothweill. Bothwell Castle, on the Clyde. It had seen a good deal of fighting in the earlier war. In August, 1301, the castle and barony, which had belonged to William de Moray, were presented to Aymer de Valence and his heirs (Bain, ii., No. 1214). See also note on Bh. xiii. 409.

21 Philip the Mowbray. More probably Sir John de Mowbray serving in Ayr for Valence, with others, in June to August, 1307 (Bain, ii., Nos. 1938, 1961).

28 Makyrnokis way. Godscroft gives the name in the form Machanacks; but David Macpherson, supporting the spelling in the text, says it is "a narrow pass on the bank of Makyrnok wattyr," which he located near Kilmarnock (Geog. Illust., s.v.).

34 Edry-furd. The meaning of this name appears to be given in the line below, "betwix marras twa," in which case Edry is for Gaelic Eadar, "between," as in other ancient names—e.g., Eddirdail for the Black Isle, being Eadar-da-dhail, "between two dales." "Furd," of course, is English, and we may conjecture that the place was first known as "the ford," with a Gaelic name beginning with Eadar, and signifying "between the marshes"; then that the unwieldy title was telescoped, the latter part of the Gaelic compound dropping out, and reduced to the hybrid "Eadar-ford," finally to the form given.

95 Kilwynnyn. Kilwinning is west of Kilmarnock, near Ardrossan. At Ardrossan they turned north by the coast road and passed Largs on to Inverkip, where are still the remains of the castle. In 1301 Edward I., after capturing Bothwell Castle, went on to besiege that of Inverkip, and in July, 1306, after Methven, Thomas Randolph was im-

prisoned there (Bain, ii., Nos. 1224, 1807).

123 Gawlistoun. Galston is a little east of Kilmarnock. Beyond it rises Loudon Hill.

133 the tend day of May. May 10. The memoranda cited in note to Bk. VII. 622, relating to the pursuit of Bruce in Galloway, extend to May 3. The battle of Loudon Hill was fought before May 15. See note on 362.

164 The hye-gat. "The high-road" to Ayr, as we learn also from the Wallace, Bk. iii. That hero, with his men, there lay in wait for "Persey's caryage," which was being convoyed up Avondale (78) to Ayr (63). The waggons of supplies "took Loudon Hill" (116), on which Wallace had prepared a position (100). Loudon Hill itself is a bold, outstanding eminence commanding the valley of the Avon. The road must have crossed the lower slope (line 165).

On each side of the road, but a bowshot (150 to 172 thre dykis. 200 yards) away (169), was a moss, impassable for horse-Further to narrow the hard ground (170), Bruce dug inwards from "the mosses" three ditches up to the road (173), each a bowshot behind the other (175). In the ditches he left gaps ("stoppis") for the road (179), wide enough for 500 men to ride abreast (? 650 to 700 yards). Thus he could not be outflanked (185) or attacked in the rear (186), and he had sufficient men to deal with

a frontal attack (187, 188). If he could not check the English at the first ditch, he could retreat to the next, and so to the third, if necessary (189-194). Bruce's tactics was thus to make a position defensible by a small number on foot, and open only to an attack in front. Maxwell's suggestion that the ditches were to shelter the Scots from the archers has no warrant in the text (Robert the Bruce, p. 164). In the Wallace:

"A maner dyk, off stanys that had maid, Narrowyt the way quhar through thair thikar raid " (iii. 133-4).

The incident in the Wallace is certainly derived from The Bruce, but Barbour's "dykis" = ditches, as in the modern English sense, has become a stone dike in the Wallace, where "dyk" has been taken in its modern Scots sense = a wall.

216 The sone wes rysyn schynand bricht. So too in the Wallace. He took up his position "in the gray dawing," and then "The sone was rysyne our landis schenand brycht" (Bk. iii. 119).

232 quhit as flour. See on Bk. II. 415; XI. 131. Barbour here must mean the white linen garment covering the armour—the surcoat.

257 that us thar dout. "Whom it needs us to fear." See for

"thar" = needs, note on Bh. VI. 121.
280 cant and heyn. Cant = lively, brisk; cf. canty. Keyn (keen) is probably in the sense of "bold" or "valiant." The words are almost synonymous. Cf. Morte Arthure:

> "The knyhte coveride (got) on his knees with a kaunt herte" (2195).

326 skalvt in soppis. "Scattered in groups." The Wallace simply paraphrases:

> "The Inglissmen, that besye was in wer, Before ordand in sondyr thaim to ber" (163-4).

339 At erd ane hundreth and weill mar. So in Wallace:

"A hundreth dede in feild was levyt thar" (205).

351 to-ga. A past tense: "went off in a hurry." See note on Bk. VII. \*302.

362 He gaf up thar his wardanry. Loudon Hill was fought in May, 1307; Valence was still "warden of Scotland" in July 31 (Bain, ii., No. 1959), but was replaced by Sir John de Bretagne, Earl of Richmond, on September 13 (Foedera, iii., p. 10). An anonymous letter of May 15 says that "the King (Edward I.) was much enraged that the guardian and his force had retreated before 'King Hobbe'"; also that James Douglas "sent and begged

to be received, but when he saw the King's forces retreat,

he drew back" (Bain, ii. 1979).

380 For that victour. There exists a letter written by "some high official" at Forfar on May 15, which appears to refer to the events of this year. Bain gives it in full in Anglo-French in vol. ii., pp. 536-7, and an abstract on p. 513. The writer says that "the news of these parts are as follows: so far as I am able to understand. Sir Robert de Bruys has never before had the good will of the people even half so fully as at the present moment" (ne avovt onkes sa en arere si avaunt la volunte des gentz ne la moyte si entierement cum il ad ore aparmeymes); "and that now they consider it manifest that he is in the right, and that God is clearly on his side, since he has now discomfited and defeated the full power of the King, as well English as Scots" (ausint bien les Engleis cum les Escoteys), "on which account the power of England is in full retreat before his men, not to return."

391 Than wox his power. According to Hemingburgh, who sets Bruce riding through Lothian "a little after Easter." before the battle of Loudon Hill, many then joined him who had been "exiled" by the English justiciars in the former year when they "sat" upon malefactors and supporters of "the new king." "And because, according to the English law, they were sentencing them to burning. being drawn on horses and hanging, on that account they rose unanimously and went with him (Bruce), preferring to die rather than be judged by English laws" (ii., p. 265). Then follows the account of Valence's defeat at Loudon Hill, the driving of the Earl of Gloucester into Ayr Castle, and Bruce's subsequent defeat, after which he lurked "in moors and marshes" with ten thousand foot; and how Bruce always "slipped out of the hands" of his pursuers-clearly a misplaced account of the Galloway operations. Of the late summer and autumn of this year the Lanercost chronicler says that "Robert Bruce, with his brother Edward and many others adhering to him, without any opposition from the English guardians, wanders about in Scotland wherever he wished, and especially in Galloway, and took tribute from that country on condition that it should be left in peace; for, on account of the number of people who then adhered to him, they were not able to resist him " (Chron., p. 210). See also Foedera, iii., p. 14, for the official English description of Bruce's raids on Galloway in August to September of this year.

393 Outour the Month. The writer of the letter cited above says that he learns from those who are watching the place beyond and on this side of the mountains, "that if Sir Robert Bruce is able to get away in any direction without inconvenience" (saun dreytes), " or towards the districts of Ross, he will find them all ready to his will more wholly than ever." For "the Month," see note on Bk. II. 494.

395 Sir Alexander the Fraser. See note on Bk. II. 239, and next

note.

- 397 his brother Symon. See on Bk. II. 239. Skeat thinks this mention and that in Bk. IX. 10 "odd," because he identifies him with the Sir Simon executed in 1306. Hence one of Barbour's "errors." Sir Alexander Fraser, sheriff of Kincardine, and "Simon Fraser his brother" are witnesses to a charter not dated, but later than 1312. (Fraser's of Philorth, ii., p. 126). Simon Fraser is one of the honorary burgesses of Aberdeen in 1317 (Miscellany of Spalding Club, v., p. 283). He fell at Halidon Hill, 1333. In line 396 C reads frendis where E gives cosyngis and H cousings in the general sense of "relatives." Bruce gifted the Earl of Atholl's lands in part to Alexander Fraser's wife, Marie, his own sister (Robertson's *Index*, p. 19, 105). The gift must be after 1315 (Bk. XIII. 490).
- 400 Schir Johne Cumyne. On September 26, 1306, John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, is forgiven his debts to the Exchequer (England), on account of the loss sustained " in the death of Sir John Comyn his cousin" (Bain, ii., No. 1835).

401 Schir Johne the Mowbray. Had the custody of "the late John Comyn's " lands in England from February 23, 1306; on duty in Ayr, June and July, 1307 (Bain, ii., Nos. 1746,

1938, 1961).

402 Schir David of Brechyne. Also serving Edward in Ayr, July or August, 1307 (ibid., No. 1961); of Forfarshire (ibid., p. 199). See on Bk. IX. 293.
413 The Erle of Lennox. See on Bk. II. 235. With line 414

cf. extract from Fordun on Bk. II. 482.

415 Schir Robert Boyd. See on Bk. IV. 342.

425 The forest of Selcryk. Sir Walter Scott has a note (45) to The Lord of the Isles on "The forest of Selkirk, or Ettrick," which, he says, "embraced the neighbouring dales of Tweeddale, and at least the upper ward of Clydesdale." But Gray distinguishes between "the forests of Selkirk and of Etryk" (Scala., p. 127); and Douglas, later, had a grant of the forests of Ettrick, Selkirk, and Traquair (Robertson's Index, p. 10, No. 24).

427 Gedward Forest. "Jedworth," or Jedburgh Forest. vulgar, and, indeed, almost universal, pronunciation, Jethart' (Jamieson on the Wallace, Bk. vii. 1277).

See further on Bk. XVI. 363.

447 Lanrik fair. No doubt "Lanark" fair, as it appears in Godscroft's account (History, p. 30, ed. 1644). "Lanerik" is an old form of the name in charters, etc.

449 gang on raw. "Go in a row."

453 Schir Johne of Webitoune. In Godscroft "Sir John Walton," under which name Sir John de Walton, he figures in Scott's Castle Dangerous. The citation from Godscroft will be found in the Appendix to the Introduction to that tale.

492 per drowry. Drowry is O.F. druerie, droerie, love, friendship; here = "as a sweetheart," apparently in a sinister sense. Ct. Chaucer:

> "To be loved is not worthy, Or bere the name of druerie." (Romaunt of the Rose, 5063).

In the Alexander, as here, "And yharnes to lufe be droury" (126, 21).

#### BOOK IX.

34 Enverrowry. Inverury, on the Don, fifteen miles north-west of Aberdeen.

64 a-pane. A curious use of the French adverbial phrase a peine, in, or with, difficulty; here = "hardly," "scarcely." The sense seems to be that even in a case in which a company is successful without a captain, which they can be only with difficulty, still they will not accomplish as much as if they had one.

107 the Slevach. Sliach in Drumblade parish, about sixteen miles north-west of Inverurie. Certain archæological features in the district are connected with Bruce's visit, the "Meet-hillock," "Robin's Height," etc. (Old. Stat. Acct., iv., p. 55; Macpherson's Geograph. Coll., i., pp. 8, 19).

116 And als frendis. According to Fordun, whose account is independent of that of Barbour, Buchan had many nobles, both English and Scots, when he went to attack Bruce at Sliach (Gesta Annalia, cxxii.).

118 Schir Johne the Mowbray. See note on Bk. VIII. 21.

127 Martymes. Martinmas, November II, 1307.
153 thai send. This second "thai" refers to the Scots of

Bruce's party. 183 begouth to fale. "They retired, overcome with shame and in confusion" (Gesta Annalia, exxii.). But in Fordun the reference is to Christmas Day. See below, 204.

188 Strabogy. Strathbogie.

190 cover and ga. "Recover and go about." 202 Ald Meldrom. About five miles north-east of Inverury.

204 Before Yhoill-evyn nycht. "One night before Christmas Eve." Fordun records an attack by Brechin on Bruce on Christmas Day (see above on 183), but the battle of

Old Meldrum he puts on to 1308 (cxxiv.). But he sends Bruce north right away after his landing in Carrick and capture of Turnberry to destroy Inverness and other fortresses (cxxi.), whereas Bruce could scarcely go north before the autumn, as he was in Galloway on September 30 (Foedera, iii., p. 14). After his victory at Inverury, Bruce ravages Buchan, subdues the north, and, according to Fordun, is in Argyll by August, 1308 (cxxvi.). This would be quick work, even for Bruce, and Lord Saltoun therefore argues that Barbour is right in his chronology (Frasers of Philorth, ii. 183-194).

221 His horse . . . he askit. When the King heard of the attack, says Fordun, "though he was still prostrated by great weakness, he rose from the litter on which he was constantly carried, and ordered his men to arm him and place

him on his horse" (Gesta Annalia, cxxiv.).
erdale. "Rabble"; O.F. merdaille, "a dirty crowd." 249 merdale. Cf. Alexander, "For thay war pure, small mardale" (379; 14); also Lives of the Saints; Ninian, 921.
289 "The son of him (the Earl of Atholl) that was in Kil-

drummy." But see note on Bk. XIII. 489. Atholl was English, and Barbour must be wrong.

293 Com syne his man. But on May 20, 1308, Edward II. was expressing his thanks to "David de Breghyn," etc. (Bain, iii., No. 43). This would support Fordun's date for the battle, if, as Barbour says, Brechin submitted soon after. But "Sir David de Breghyn" is receiving wine from Edward II. on July 12, 1310 (Bain, iii., No. 121). See further on Bh. XIX. 19.

296 all Bouchane. The district of Buchan is in the north-east of Aberdeenshire.

307 Toward Angus. In the north of Forfarshire. 309 the Scottis Se. The Firth of Forth (see on 461). Of old it marked the boundary between the land of the Gaelic-

speaking Scots and the English Lowlands.

312 Philip the Forster of Platan. Jamieson explains that there is still a Forest-muir in Angus, "the name of a great track of waste ground a few miles to the north of Forfar" and about two miles east of it, "a village vulgarly named Forster-seat . . . said to be properly designed Foresterseat, as having been the place where the forester anciently resided." He identifies Platan with Platter, a forest which is the subject of a grant by Robert Bruce (Index Chart., p. 4, No. 43); while a charter of Robert II. confers on Alexander de Lindsay the office of Forester of the Forest of Plater, "in the sheriffdom of Forfar" (ibid.,

p. 120, 63).
330 Till Perth is went. According to Gray, it was the Earl of Atholl who captured Perth for Bruce (Scala., p. 140).

This is quite wrong; Atholl was English.

335 the wallis war all of stane. Perth was an exceptional case, the larger Scottish towns, except Berwick, being fortified only with ditch and palisade (de bons fossez et de bons palis. Le Bel, I., xxii.). And so was Berwick till 1296.

338 Olyfard. Barbour is about four years too soon with the capture of Perth. William de Olifard (modern Oliphant) was still holding it for Edward II. in February, 1312 (Bain, iii., No. 247). Oliphant was a Scot, and the state of the garrison for July, 1312, shows a great number to have been Scotsmen (ibid., pp. 425-7). Fordun says Perth fell on January 8, 1313; the Chron. de Lanercost gives the date as January 10, 1313 (Gesta Annalia, cxxix., Lanerc., p. 221). According to the Lanercost writer, the Scots climbed the walls on ladders during the night, and captured the place through the neglect or lack of sentinels and defenders (propter defectum vigilum et custodum, p. 222).

340 Of Stratherne als the Erll. But see below on 433.

354 the dik. The burgesses of Perth had, by order, made "a pielle and fosse"—i.e., a tower and a ditch—"when Robert de Brus broke the peace" (Bain, iii., No. 68).

371, 373 mak ledderis . . . in a myrk nycht. See above on 338.

377 slepit all. See on 338.

391 A knycht of France. In the Wallace it is explained that this was Sir Thomas de Longueville, a French pirate and a friend of Wallace. Such an identification is in the usual plagiarising fashion of the author of the Wallace.

405 eftir the Kyng. Cf. preceding note.

412 the tothir man that tuk the wall. "The second man to reach

the top of the wall."

433 Malis of Strathern. Barbour is quite wrong in placing the Earl of Strathearn in Perth, and his son on the Scottishs side. Both were still in the English interest. Malise of Stratherne, son of the Earl of Stratherne, is in English pay November, 1309 (Bain, iii., No. 121). The Earl appears to have been at Berwick during the winter of 1310-1311 (Bain, iii., No. 208); and it is no doubt his son who on January 28, 1313, after the fall of Perth (see on 338), is still in receipt of an allowance from Edward II. (tbid., No. 299). Malis, Earl of Strathearn, is among the signatories to the 1320 letter to the Pope (Act. Parl. Scot. I., p. 114).

448 thai war kynde to the cuntre. "They were related to the country"—i.e., they were Scots (see on 338). The Lanercost account is the contrary of this; it is there said that on the morrow of the capture, a Tuesday, Bruce had the chief burgesses of the town (meliores burgenses), who were of the Scottish nation, put to death, but allowed the English to depart in freedom. This writer errs, however, as to the fate of Olifard, a Scot, who, he says, was sent in bonds (ligatus) far off to the

Isles (p. 222); for Olifard was in England a few months afterwards, and there is no mention of any escape or exchange (Bain, iii., p. xviii). Fordun's version is that the treacherous folk (perfida gens), both Scots and English, were slain, but that Bruce, in his mercy, spared the common people (plebi), and gave pardon to those who asked for it (Gesta Annalia, cxxix.).

452 wallis gert he tummyll doune. Bruce's usual policy with fortified places. See on Bh. X. 496. The Lanercost chronicler says he completely destroyed the town (p. 222); Fordun that he destroyed the wall and ditches, and

burned everything else (ibid.).

461 Obeysit all. Not quite, in 1308. Dundee was in English hands in April, 1312, when reinforcements were being sent to its "rescue" (Bain, iii., p. 401); and in 1313, according to Barbour himself (Bk. X. 800-1). So was Banff (Watt's History of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 68). Bain assigns to June, 1308, a note of instructions regarding Scotland, in which two wardens are appointed for "beyond the Scottish sea between the Forth and Orkeneye," with 120 men-at-arms, "besides garrisons." The "guardians of Scot-land," however, are told "that it is the King's pleasure they take truce from Robert de Bruys, as from themselves, as long as they can "-an indication of the growing power of Bruce, emphasized by Barbour (Bain, iii. No. 47).

497 With all the folk, etc. The Lanercost writer explains this raid as being on account of the discord between the English King and his barons. With Edward Bruce, he says, went Robert himself, Alexander de Lindsay, and James Douglas, with their following, which they had brought together "from the remote isles of Scotland"

(p. 212).

500 ryotit gretly the lande. The people of Galloway had paid tribute to the left alone (see on Bk. VIII. 391), but, says the Lanercost writer, they made no account of this, and in one day slew many of the more noble men of Galloway, and subjugated nearly the whole country, the Galloway men who could escape flying to England (p. 212).

502 Ingrame the Umphrevell. In June, 1308, Umfraville, with two others, was made a warden of Galloway, Annandale.

and Carrick (Bain, iii., No. 47).

509 als Amery. Amery St. John; but there is no one on record of this name. Aymer de Valence was still a warden, but in September, 1307, when Bruce was raiding Galloway (see on Bk. VIII. 391), John de St. John was one of "the greater men" there (Bain, iii., No. 15). "Amery St. John " is referred to again in Bk. XVI. 506.

517 Besyde Cre. The River Cre divides Kirkcudbrightshire from Wigtown. Fordun says the battle was on the Dee, and dates it June 29, 1308 (Gesta Annalia, cxxv.). The Dee Notes **42**I

flows into the Solway at the town of Kirkcudbright. Though Barbour's position is universally accepted,

Fordun is probably right. See next note.

522 Buttil. Here, at least, C is more correct in a place-name than E, which gives Bothwell, on the Clyde, an absurd distance away, across mountains. The castle is that at Buittle, near Dalbeattie, a Balliol hold. It is a few miles east of the Dee, which seems to bear out Fordun as in the preceding note; cf. also lines 533-5. Edward's operations by the Cree could hardly be seen from Buittle.

547 by Cre. A second battle by the Cree, or, more probably,

one following on the English reverse by the Dee.

575 Schir Alane of Catcart. Cathcart is near Glasgow. Sir William de Cathcart (Kethker) is a knight of Roxburgh

garrison (English) in December, 1309 (Bain, iii., No. 121). 610 "Directed their heads inwards again"—i.e., turned their

horses to make a fresh charge from the rear.

Small castles, Border "peels"—ditch 658 Thretten castellis.

and palisade.

683 the wattir of Lyne. In Peeblesshire, flowing into the Tweed

from the north, a short distance west of Peebles.

692 Alysander Stewart. In C, Alexander Bonkill. Son of Sir John Stewart, who married the heiress of Sir Alexander de Bonkyl in Berwickshire, and grandson of the fourth High Steward. He died, apparently, in 1319, and his son John was created by Bruce Earl of Angus (Scots Peerage, i. 13, 169).

694 Thomas Randole. Randolph. See note on Bk. II. 463.

695 Adame . . . of Gordoun. See note on Bk. II. 463; XI. 46; XV. 333.

728 His emys son. The mother of Douglas was Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander, the fourth High Steward, and her elder brother was Sir John Stewart, father of Alexander Stewart, of Bonkil. *Cf.* on 692. Thus Douglas and Sir Alexander were cousins.

# BOOK X.

Barbour's chronology is here not specific, 9 toward Lorn. but he apparently places the expedition against Lorn in the late summer or autumn of 1308. So does Fordun (see on Bk. IX. 204). On the other hand, there exists a letter from John of Lorn to Edward II., clearly referring to the present expedition. Unfortunately, it is not dated further than as an acknowledgment of the receipt of the King's letters of March 11. About that date, in 1308, Bruce must have been in the North, beyond the Mounth (see on Bk. IX. 204). On June 16, 1309, Alex-

ander of Lorn and John are in council with Edward at Westminster (Bain, iii., No. 95). Meantime Alexander of Argyll is in the sederunt of Bruce's first Parliament, March 16, 1309, at St. Andrew s(Act. Parl. Scot., vol. i., p. 160). Either, then, Bruce's expedition is to be placed in the spring and early summer of 1309, or, after the defeat at Loch Awe, John of Lorn held out during the winter, and Dunstaffnage fell at some date between March II,

1308, and June 16, 1309.

14 twa thousand. In the letter referred to above, John of Lorn says that "Robert Bruce had approached his territories with 10,000 or 15,000 men, it was said, both by land and sea. He had no more than 800 to oppose him, 500 of these being in his pay to keep his borders, and the barons of Argyll gave him no aid. . . . He has three castles to guard, and a lake 24 leagues (miles) long on which he has vessels properly manned, but is not sure of his neighbours" (Bain, iii., No. 80). Lorn's estimate of Bruce's strength is clearly exaggerated. Hemingburgh similarly gives Bruce 10,000 men in his Galloway wanderings (ii., p. 265).

17 Ane evill place. From the description, the Pass of Brander through which the River Awe flows from Loch Awe to Loch Etive, a sea-loch. The Callander-Oban Railway

follows this route. The Pass is three miles long.

27 Crechanben. Cruachan Ben, or Ben Cruachan, on the north side, 3,689 feet.

34-35 on the se . . . with his galays. Skeat says this must be "Loch Etive, a sea-loch, not the inland Loch Awe, from which the ships could not have escaped." He is thinking of line 130, but the flight there mentioned has no connection with the present case. Loch Etive is not "weill neir the pas" (35; cf. also 97, 98), but Loch Awe is, and we see from Lorn's letter (note on 14) that he had ships on that loch. He says further that he "was on sickbed" when he received Edward's letters, "and had been for half a year "; which probably accounts for his presence in a galley, or large Highland row-boat, as the Marquis of Argyll was, for a like reason, when his forces were cut to pieces by Montrose at Inverlochy in 1645.

46 Williame Wisman. A "William Wysman" was made Edward's Sheriff at Elgin in 1305 (Bain, ii., p. 458). The wife of "Monsieur William Wysman" was among the ladies captured in 1306, and was sent to Roxburgh (Foedera, ii., p. 1014). William Wyseman was at the St. Andrews Parliament, 1309 (Act. Parl. Scot., i., p. 160).

It was a Moray name.

47 Schir Androu Gray. Ancestor of the Lords Gray. Sir Andrew Gray received from Bruce in 1315 the barony of Longforgan and other lands in Perthshire and Forfarshire,

which had belonged to Edmond Hastings (Robertson's Index, p. 26, No. 19; Crawford's Peerage, p. 179, ed. 1716).

82 ane wattir. The River Awe. The river here is wide, deep,

and broken by rapids.

88 till brek it. The bridge, of course, was of wood. It was probably beyond the lower extremity of the Pass, somewhere near the present bridge.

113 Dunstaffynch. In Fordun Dunstafynch; Dunstaffnage Castle

at the mouth of Loch Etive.

126 And com his man. As has already been noted (see on 9), Alexander of Arygll is, with the other "barons" of Argyll and the Hebrides, present at Bruce's Parliament at St. Andrews, which, if correct, indicates that Barbour, so far, is right. Lorn wrote to Edward that, "though he and his were few in respect of his power, Robert de Brus had asked a truce from him, which he granted for a short space, and received the like, till the King sends him succours. He hears that Robert, when he came, was boasting and saying that the writer had come to his peace at the report that many others would rise in his aid, which God and the writer know is not true. Should the King hear this from others, he is not to believe it" (Bain, as cited). Fordun's story is that Bruce besieged Alexander of Argyll in Dunstaffnage, that the castle was surrendered, but Alexander refused to do homage and was allowed a safe-conduct for himself and friends to England (Gesta Annalia, cxxvi.).

137 at Lythkow wes than a peill. Linlithgow "peel" was constructed by Edward I. in 1301-1302. Barbour's chronology is again at fault, or he is not concerned about it. Linlithgow was still being munitioned against the Scots in August, 1313 (Bain, iii, No. 330). Barbour appears to be simply grouping the different captures of castles together (see lines 144-7). Strictly a "peel" was a fortification consisting of a stockade and ditch, enclosing

the buildings of the garrison (see lines 144-7).

154 Wilyhame Bunnok. See note on 254. C reads Bowne

here, but Bunnok in line 194. 180 the hede-soyme. That is, the "trace" or "traces" connecting the animals with the cart would be cut, when the waggon would block the gateway. By a similar trick, in which the agents are dressed as carters and the traces are loosened by withdrawing the pins, Oudenarde was captured in 1384 (Froissart, Johnes, ii., chap. cli.).

185 the harvist tyde. September or October, 1313. See above

on 137.

195 To leid thair hay. To "lead" the hay, still the usual country phrase, is to bring it in from the field to the place of storage. Bunnok was to gather the hay and cart it to the castle.

196 but dangeir. "Without difficulty," readily.
223 callit his wayn. "Drove" or "urged forward" his waggon. The word occurs in this sense in the Wallace "Thir cartaris . . . callyt furth the cartis weill" Bk. ix. 717-8), where, as usual, the incident is borrowed from the Bruce. Cf. Burns: "Ca the yowes to the knowes."
232 he leyt the gadwand fall. "He" is not Bunnock, but the

driver, who drops his goad and cuts the trace.

254 hym rewardit worthely. According to Nisbet's Heraldry, Bunnock is the same name as Binning, and the arms of Binning of Easter-Binning are "placed on the bend of a waggon argent"; and he gives as an explanation that "one of the heads of that family, with his seven sons, went in a waggon covered with hay, surprised and took the castle of Linlithgow, then in the possession of the English, in the reign of David II." (I. 100, ed. 1816). The reference is clearly to the present incident, though "sons" is a later development, and the date is wrong. Tamieson is highly suspicious over the identification, and it seems, in fact, to be a case of ancestry manufacture.

265-6 Murref . . . And other syndri landis braid. "Murref" is English transcription of the Gaelic form, muiraibh, dative plural of muir, the sea. The grant to Randolph was most extensive, including lands from the mouth of the Spey to Lochaber and Mamore, and "the marches of northern Argyll," and covering 2,550 square miles in Banff, Elgin, Nairn, and Inverness (Robertson's *Index* of Charters, p. xlix; Rampini's Moray and Nairn, p. 140).

324 Schir Peris Lumbard. Peter de Loubaud (Lybaud, Libaut) was constable of Edinburgh Castle and the peel of Linlithgow in March, 1312 (Bain, iii., No. 254). Edinburgh Castle was captured during Lent, 1314 (Chron. de Lanercost, p. 223; Fordun says March 14, 1314), by Randolph (Gesta Annalia, cxxx.); March 24, apparently, in Gesta Edw. de Carn. (p. 45), where it is said that Roxburgh and Edinburgh fell between February 29 and March 24, 1314. Hailes goes a year wrong in these dates, and Skeat adopts. For the intrusion of "m" before "b," ct. Ferumbrace for Fierabras in Bk. III. 437.

327 mystrowit hym of tratory. So we have it in the Vita Edw. Sec. that Edinburgh Castle was captured "by the betrayal of a certain Gascon, who was known as Peter de Gavestone, to whom the King had committed the custody of the castle. He, a perjured traitor, adhered to Robert the Bruce, and betrayed the castle" (p. 199). Cf.

on 766.

360-1 ledderis . . . With treyn steppis, etc. Ladders of this sort are carefully described by the Carlisle friar as having been used at an unsuccessful siege of Berwick by Bruce in 1312. Two strong ropes were taken, of a length according

to the height of the wall. These were knotted at intervals of a foot and a half; on these knots rested wooden (treyn) steps two and a half feet long by half a foot broad, sufficient for one man at a time, and every third step had a projection inwards, to keep the ladder out from the wall. At the top end was a curved iron (cf. "a cruk . . . of iron "), one end of which, about a foot long, lay on the top of the wall, while the other hung down, was pierced with a hole, and had a ring on each side for the rope. In the hole a sufficiently long spear was inserted, by which the ladder was put in position by two men. When the Scots had placed two ladders for a night attack, a dog barked, and Berwick was saved, the Scots making off and leaving their ladders behind to be hung up in derision of the Scots by the garrison (p. 221).

372 on the fasteryn evyn. "Fastern's Eve," Shrove Tuesday. February 27, 1314. So, too, in Fordun (Gesta Annalia, cxxx.), and in Scalacronica, the night of Shrove Tuesday (p. 140); in Lanercost the capture is dated the day after, February 28, the first day of Lent, 1314 (p. 223). The castle was still in English hands on February 7, 1314 (Bain, iii., No. 352), but lost before May 29 (No. 358).

in 1314 (894).

400 up thair ledderis set. "For James (Douglas) himself on a certain night secretly approached the castle (of Roxburgh), and placed ladders, which had been carried up in concealment (latenter) against the wall, and so by these

ascended the wall," etc. (Vita Edw. Sec., p. 200).

441 The custom. It was the custom to spend the day before the beginning of the fast of Lent in feasting and jollity. This practice continued in Scotland long after the Reformation, when Lent was no more observed. The Vita Edw.

says that the garrison were sleeping or off their guard.
456-7 Gylmyne de Fenis . . . in the gret toure, etc. "They (the Scots) took the whole castle except one tower, to which, with difficulty, had escaped the warden of the castle, Sir Gilminus de Fenes, a Gascon knight, and his men with him, but that tower the Scots had soon afterwards" (Lanercost, p. 223). Sir William de Filinge (Filling, Felynges) was constable of Roxburgh since 1312 at least (Bain, iii., Nos., 332, 337, 351). On the conduct of Roxburgh garrison see on Bk. XI. 46.

479 Woundit so felly. According to Gray, "Guillemyng Fenygges" was killed by an arrow while holding the great

tower (Scala., p. 140). 496 to tummyll it doune. "And all this beautiful castle, as with all the other castles which they were able to get, they laid level with the ground, that the English might never afterwards by holding the castles be able to dominate the country " (Lanercost, p. 223). So also Vita Edw. Sec..

p. 199, and Gesta Edw., p. 45, where it is alleged that Bruce did this to prevent the Scottish nobles taking refuge therein instead of helping him. See on Bh. IX. 452, and below on 771.

504 Outane Jedworth. There was fighting about Jedburgh in 1315, 1316 (Bain, iii., No. 494), but it was still in English hands in 1321 (ibid., 746).

509 At Edinburgh. Edinburgh Castle was still in English hands in August, 1313 (Bain, iii., No. 330). See further note on 324.

513 all his purchas. "By his own procurement."

516 voidry. Skeat's suggestion. See footnote. It means "cunning, stratagem" (S).

529 "Ere that siege should miscarry, or go wrong." Cf. on Bh. I. 478. The mood here is subjunctive, past tense.
 530 William Francas. Francis or "Fraunceys" appears from

- 530 William Francas. Francis or "Fraunceys" appears from Bain to have been a common name in the Lothians. A "William Francis" got lands from Bruce in Roxburgh in 1322. His grant just precedes one to John Crab (Robertson's Index to Charters, p. 15, No. 20; cf. Bk. XVII. 239).
- 701 The Erll has tane the castell all. The Lanercost historian says the castle was captured in this manner: "Those besieging the same castle, one day in the evening, made a bold assault on the south gate, because on account of the position of the castle, there was no other place where an assault could be given. But those within, all collecting at the gate, resisted them stoutly; meanwhile, however, others of the Scots climbed the rock on the north side, which was very high and steep, up to the foundation of the wall, and there, placing their ladders against the wall, they climbed up in such numbers that those within could make no resistance; and so they (the Scots) opened the gates and brought in their friends, and took the whole castle and slew the English" (p. 223). The Scalacronica account is that Moray took the castle at the highest part of the rock, where there was no thought of danger (a quoi il ne se dotoit) (p. 140).

710 Lap fra a berfrois. For a "beffroi," see on Bk. XVI. 597. O.F., "berfroi," etc. For form "belfry," cf. "pilgrim," from "peregrinus"; in English not before the fifteenth century. French dropped the "r" (N.E.D.). The reference here is to one of the Alexander romances, of which there was no translation, and is indicative of Barbour's familiarity with this literature. Cf. Appendix E.

740 in stede of prophesye. "In the way of, or as, a prophecy."
742 hir chapell. St. Margaret's Chapel, built for Queen Margaret, wife of Malcolm Canmore. She died in Edinburgh Castle in 1093. In 1336 the chapel was fitted with four windows of glass (Bain, iii., p. 335).

746 as old men sayis. The picture and inscription were, therefore, no longer extant.

747 "Gardez-vous de Francois." "Beware of Francis or of the

French."

766 he becom the Kingis man. Gray tells how "Lebaud" went over to Bruce, but, because he was in heart English (qil estoit Engles qe quer), Bruce had him accused of treason and hanged (Scala., p. 140). The official record is that he was convicted of treason, and, from his forfeitures, he seems to have received large holdings in Lothian (Reg. Mag. Sig., where he is styled Peter Luband, p. 3, 3; p. 13, 63, 64, 66).
771 myne doune all halely. The Lanercost writer adds that the

Scots levelled Edinburgh Castle to the ground, as they

had done Roxburgh.

815 Fra the lenteryne. Lent, 1313. In the Vita Edw. it is said that Mowbray brought the news of his pact at the beginning of Lent, which must be Lent, 1314, suggesting a considerable difference in dates (p. 200).

816 Quhill . . . Saint Johnnis mess. That is, by June 24, 1313, the English garrison began to find their food running short. "Their victual was insufficient" (Vita Edw.,

p. 200).

822-3 it was nocht with battaill Reskewit. So, too, in Vita Edw. Sec., where the agreement is that Mowbray "would either procure the King of England to come to the defence of the castle, or, if he should not be able to induce the King to do this, that he would summarily (indilate) surrender the castle." St. John's day is fixed as the limiting date. The writer makes Robert Bruce himself conduct the siege (p. 200). So does Gray, who says that the castle was to be surrendered, "unless the English army came within three leagues of the said castle within eight days after St. John's day in the summer next to come" (dedenz viii jours apres le Saint Johan en este adonques procheine avenir, p. 141). But cf. Bh. XI. 8-9).

## BOOK XI.

32 outrageous a day. "Day" has here the meaning of "a space of time," as in Berners' Froissart. "The truce is not expired, but hath day to endure unto the first day of Maye next" (I. ccxiii., N.E.D.): a sense of the Latin

dies. For "outrageous," see on Bk. III. 162.

44 Akatane. Aquitaine, the ancient southern duchy of France, the hereditary possession of the Kings of

England.

46 The Lanercost chronicler affirms (1311) that in the war the Scots were so divided that sometimes a father was with the Scots and his son with the English, or brothers were on opposite sides, or even the same person at one time on the Scottish side, at another on that of England; but that it was a pretence, either because the English seemed to get the better or to save their English lands, "for their hearts, if not their bodies, were always with their own people" (p. 217). Thus, at this time, there were still to be found among supporters of the English King such names as Stewart, Graham, Kirkpatrick, Maxwell, St. Clair, etc. (Bain, iii., Introd., pp. xvi, xvii). As many of these were Border lairds—some, indeed, are of Annandale—even their Scottish lands were specially exposed to English attack. Late in 1313 (October or November) we have a Petition to the King (of England) from the People of Scotland, by their envoys, Sir Patrick de Dunbar, Earl of March, and Sir Adam de Gordon, complaining of the great losses they have suffered "by their enemies" i.e., the Bruce party—also of the brigandage of the English garrison in Berwick and Roxburgh (Bain, iii., No. 337). One of the results of Bannockburn was to bring many of these waverers over to the national side. Adam de Gordon, indeed, was already under suspicion, and apparently was a waverer. He had, in fact, a grant of the lands of Strathbogie in 1309, according to Robertson (*Index*, p. 2; 40). *Cf*. also 103-4.\* For Gordon, see also *Bk*. IX. 720, etc.; XV. 333; and on March, *Bk*. XIX. 776, note.

79-82 Cf., as bearing out Barbour's assertion, the comment by the author of the Vita Edwardi Secundi on the army when assembled at Berwick: "There were in that assemblage amply sufficient men (satis sufficients) to traverse all Scotland, and, in the judgment of some, if the whole of Scotland had been brought together, it could not make a stand against the army of the King (cf. line 150). Indeed, it was confessed by the whole host that, in our time, such an army had not gone out of England" (Chronicles of Ed. I. and Ed. II., ii., pp. 201-2).

91 Erll of Hennaut. Count William of Hainault, Flanders. Cf. on Bk. XIX. 262.

93. Almanyhe: Germany. Friar Baston says four German knights came "gratis" (Eng. Hist. Rev.. vol. xix., p. 507). Friar Baston says four German

100 of Irlande ane gret menyhe. In Foedera we have the list of twenty-five Irish chiefs summoned to the campaign against the Scots-O'Donald, O'Neil, MacMahon, O'Bryn, O'Dymsy, etc. The Irish contingent was commanded by Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, Bruce's father-inlaw (III., pp. 476-478).

\*103-4 See note on 46.

103 Ane hundreth thousand men and ma. See Appendix C.

105 Armyt on hors. That is, the men alone wore armour, being thus distinguished from the knights "with helit hors," or horses armoured also in bardings of leather or mail. Skeat rejects the reading of E in favour of "playn male," taking "playn" to represent the French plein="complete mail," on the ground of Innes's remark that the distinction between mail or ring-armour and plate, "if known, was not so specific in Barbour's age." But plates had been coming into use since the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and by 1300 the practice of attaching such additional defences was rapidly developing. See note on 131. In 1316 we read of "200 men armed in plate," who were sent to Ireland from England (Bain, iii., p. 99, No. 519).

114 Of cartis. ' The multitude of waggons (multitudo quadrigarum), if it had been extended in a line one behind the other, would have taken up a space of twenty leagues" (Vita Edw. Sec., p. 202). The meaning of "league" is

uncertain; apparently it was just a mile. schall. In Vita Edw. Sec. (pp. 206-7) the author speaks of "costly garments and gold (or gilt) plate" (vasa aurea). Baker of Swinbroke, in his Chronicon Angliæ 117 veschall. (p. 55), also mentions the "plate of gold and silver," and affirms that, in addition to an abundant supply of victuals, the English brought with them things which were wont to be seen only in times of peace on the luxurious tables of princes. Among the ornaments of the high altar of Aberdeen Cathedral in 1549 was "an old hood made of cloth of gold . . . from the spoil of the Battle of Bannockburn " (Reg. Episc. Aberd., ii., p. 189).

Arrows, and bolts for cross-bows. Cf. Bk. XIII. 311, and below, note on 544.

130 ryche weid. The rich flowing housings or drapery of the steeds, covering the armour, if any, as the "surcoat" of

the knight did his.

131-\*132. Armour was in a state of rapid transition, and so at this time is very complicated. An English brass of 1325 shows a knight wearing (1) a gambeson, or close-fitting quilted tunic, to ease the pressure of the armour; (2) a hauberk of banded or chain mail, with half-plates on the upper arm; (3) an habergeon ("hawbyrschown"), or lighter hauberk, apparently of small plates; (4) a haketon, another padded coat like the gambeson; (5) and a short surcoat. He has leggings of mail covering also the feet, and half-plates in addition from the knees to the toes: a hood of mail continued upward from the hauberk and a bascinet, or pointed, nut-shaped helmet, with no visor. Over this he would wear in battle such a heavy, closed, flat-topped helm as we see on the seal of Robert I. He

carries a small triangular shield on his left arm, and his sword, a little more than half the body in length, hangs in front from a waist-belt. Such was probably the equipment of the leading knights at Bannockburn.

136 Till Berwick. The army was to assemble at Werk on the Tweed by Monday, June 10, 1314 (Foedera, iii., p. 481). But the start was made from Berwick on June 17 or 18 (Vita Edw., 201).

150 Mannaustt the Scottis. Cf. note on 79-82.

163 Glowcister. Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, nephew of the King, and a young man of twenty-three. *Herfurd*. Humphrey de Bohun, or Boun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and Constable of England. "The Earl of Gloucester and the Earl of Herford commanded the first line" (primam aciem, Vit. Edw. Sec., p. 202). The Scalacronica says Gloucester commanded "the advance guard" (p. 141), but does not mention Hereford (see note on Bh. XIII. 466).

174 Schir Gylys de Argente. Sir Giles d'Argentine, popularly regarded as one of the three most eminent men of the time, the others being the Emperor Henry and Robert Bruce (Scotich. Lib., xiii. 16). He "guided the King's bridle" (Vita Edw. Sec., p. 204). Cf. also Scalacronica (p. 143), votre reyne me fust baillez—"your rein was entrusted to me": among others (p. 142).

210 the Torwood. Stretching north and west from Falkirk. It reached to near Bannockburn, a little south of which is "Torwoodhead" Castle.

237 See note on 103.

250 abaysing. Fear which grew to panic. Morale, or firm courage, is always an important element in warfare, but in medieval times it seems to have been specially important (cf. IV. 191-200, and XII. 184-8). The remarkable successes of the Scots against larger numbers were often due to the "abaysing," for one reason or other, of their opponents. Footmen were peculiarly liable to this loss of nerve, as they received no mercy, as a rule, from the mounted knights. Bruce was all along most anxious to guard against the rise of any such spirit of "funk" among his men. "Success in battle," said Napoleon, "depends not so much upon the number of men killed as upon the number frightened."

277 the wayis. As Bruce explains in the lines that follow, there were two "ways" of advance to Stirling; one through the wooded New Park, and the other by the level below St. Ninian's, extending to the "pools" or lagoons along the side of the Forth. The trees of the New Park seem to have extended from above the banks of the burn to St. Ninian's on the one side and Stirling, or near it, on the other (cf. note on Bk. XII. 58). It was made as late

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as 1264 by Alexander III., and enclosed with a paling in

1288 (Excheq. Rolls, I. 24, 38); whence the name "New."
291 licht armyng. "Everyone of them (the Scots) was protected by light armour" (levi armatura). (Vita Edw. Sec.,

p. 203). See further, note on Bk. XII. 448. 296 ficht on fut. Fighting was still regarded as almost entirely the business of armoured men on horseback, the footmen serving only for minor purposes. That an army all on foot should oppose chivalry was a new departure. Bruce was an original general. Sir Thomas Gray says that the Scots "took example from the Flemings," who, in 1302, at Courtrai had in this way defeated the French knights (Scalacronica, p. 142). But this is an afterthought. The Vita Edwardi Sec. also draws the parallel with Courtrai (p. 206). But the Scots could take the hint from the tactics at Falkirk in 1298, where Wallace was only defeated by the English archers. An English chronicler of about 1330 suggests that the Scots were made to fight on foot to avoid the mischance at Falkirk when their little body of cavalry fled at the sight of the English advance (Annales Johannis de Trokelowe, p. 84).

300 the sykis. No doubt shallow lagoons with a muddy bottom, about the Bannock, where it entered the Forth, flooded by the tide. Jamieson, in his Dictionary, defines syk as "a marshy bottom, with a small stream in it." A rivulet in Selkirkshire is known as the Red Syke (Cham-

bers' Popular Rhymes, p. 17, ed. 1826).

333-6 Pinkerton suggests in his edition that Bruce could not trust the Highlanders and Islesmen, and so put them in the rear, and stiffened their ranks with his own followers from Carrick. For this there is no warrant. The "barons of Argyll and Inchgallye" (the Hebrides) attended Bruce's Parliament at St. Andrews in March, 1309 (Acts Parl. Scot., i. 99). Cf. also note on X. 14. In any case on the Sunday afternoon Bruce took the front position in the New Park with these very men (445, 446).

360 ane playne feld by the way. I.e., an open, level part by the road through the park, just outside the wood. The historians have shifted the position to suit their various and erroneous ideas of the field of battle. Barbour, it is to be noted, says nothing of bogs, nor of Buchanan's "calthrops of iron" (Scot. Hist., ed. 1762, p. 213). Friar Baston, captured at Bannockburn, in his Latin poem, says there were stakes in the pits (Scotchronicon, lib. xii., chap. xxii.). Geoffrey Baker, of Swinbroke, enlarges them to long ditches covered with hurdles, an utter misapprehension (Chronicon, pp. 56, 57. Cf. notes on Bk. XII. 536, 537). At Cressy (1346) the English dug "many pits" (multa foramina) of the depth and width of a foot in front of their first line as a defence against possible pursuit by the French cavalry (Baker, p. 166). An analagous device is described by Herodotus as having been successfully used by the Phocians to destroy Messalian cavalry (Book viii., chap. xxviii.).

426 till ane vale. Apparently in the valley behind Coxet Hill. "Gillies Hill" is said to have taken its name from these "gillies," or servants (Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire, second edition, p. 219). Barbour never calls them "gillies," and why a Gaelic name? The writer of the description of the district in the Old Statistical Account (1796) makes no mention of this "tradition," and suggests a derivation from the personal name Gill or Gillies. "The names both of Gillies and Morison occur in the muirlands" (vol. xviii., p. 392).

437 the Fawkirk. A Scots translation of the original Gaelic name (in twelfth century) Eaglais breac, "the speckled or particoloured church," in reference to the stone of which it was built. In "Falkirk" the "1" has been substituted for "w," as a sign of length in the vowel

(see Language l, App. G). Local pronunciation does not sound the "1." The English chroniclers write the name Foukyrk (Vita Edw. Sec., p. 205), or Faukirke (Annales London., p. 104).

- 440-453 Acting on the information received, and unaware, as yet, which road the English would choose for an advance to Stirling, Bruce makes a fresh disposition of his troops, departing from that laid down in lines 305-347, so as to be ready for either line of advance. He himself occupies the "entry" to the Park road, which was a continuation of the medieval (Roman?) highway passing west of St. Ninian's, with his mixed brigade of Highlanders and Lowlanders; while Randolph is posted at St. Ninian's Kirk overlooking the level about seventy feet below. Apparently (see below) both divisions are masked by the wood. The others are in reserve to reinforce when it should turn out to be necessary. The historians, ignoring this alteration in dispositions, land themselves, as a result, in unintelligible confusion. Douglas later trapped an English column in the "entre" of Jedburgh Forest (Bh. XVI. 310 et seq.).
- 486 confort his men. See note on 250.
- 523 Aucht hundreth. Gray says they were only three hundred, under the command of Robert Lord de Clifford and Henry de Beaumont (Scalacronica, p. 141). We learn from the same author that Philip de Mowbray, constable of Stirling, went out and met Edward when the army was three leagues, or miles, from the castle, and suggested that he should advance no farther as, the English having come so far, and being within touch, he considered himself relieved; besides, he said, the Scots had blocked the

narrow ways (lez estroitz chemyns) of the wood-i.e., of the New Park. But from the conditions, as we have seen (Bk. X. 822), the castle could not be held to be relieved so long as the Scots were in force before it. We note that Mowbray also expected the army to come by the Park roads. Now Barbour says that Clifford's detachment left the main body two miles away (515). Apparently, then, this movement was the result of Mowbray's information (see next note). However, it was known to Edward when he summoned his army that the Scots had taken up a position between him and Stirling in strong, marshy places difficult for horsemen

(Foedera, ii., p. 481). 532 it suld reskewit be. So the Scots might conclude, but the version of the Lanercost chronicler better fits the case: "After dinner" (post prandium—say, about midday) "the army of the King (Edward) came to the neighbour-hood of the Torwood" (he takes the Park to be an extension of the larger forest), "and when it was known that the Scots were in the wood" (from Mowbray), "the first line (prima acies) of the King, whose leader was Lord Clifford, wished to surround the wood so that the Scots should not escape in flight" (p. 225). This is in harmony with the self-confidence of the English, and explains why the horsemen did not, as they might have done, avoid Randolph's foot, if they were only making for the castle. There was apparently no obstacle to Mowbray communicating personally with the relieving army, and he cannot have gone alone; so that the parties were actually in touch, and, as Mowbray argued, a technical "relief" had been performed.

536 thai wist weill. From Mowbray probably, but cf. note on 523. Aymer de Valence, too, had gone on before the army to prepare its line of march and carefully examine the stratagems of the Scots (insidias Scotorum. Vit. Edw.,

p. 201).

537 Beneth the Park. "Made a circuit upon the other side of the wood towards the castle, keeping the open ground"

(as beaux chaumps. Scalacronica, p. 141).

544 thai so fer war passit by. The English writers report the matter as it appeared to them. "The Scots, however, suffered this" (Clifford's advance) "until they had placed a considerable distance between themselves and their friends, when they showed themselves, and cutting off that first line of the King from the middle and rear divisions (a media acie et extrema), rushed on it," etc. (Chron. de Lanercost, 225). "Thomas Randolph, . . . who was leader of the advance guard of the Scots, having heard that his uncle had repulsed the advance guard of the English on the other side of the wood, thought that

he must have his share, and issuing from the wood with his division "(Barbour says" five hundred men," line 542), "took the level plain" (le beau chaumpe—Barbour's "playn feld") "towards the two lords aforesaid" (Scalacronica, p. 141). Note that both Bruce at the "entry," and Randolph at "the Kirk," were in the wood (see on this also note on Bk. XII. 58); and the reiterated use of the term "playn feld" for the level below St. Ninian's.

546 ane rose of his chaplet. Hailes suggests a far-fetched explanation of this: "I imagine that rose implies a large bead in a rosary or chaplet," when the dropping of a rose would imply carelessness of duty (Annals, ii. 51, note). The New English Dictionary defines chaplet as "A wreath for the head, usually a garland of flowers or leaves," and cites this passage. Randolph in the wood, keeping his eyes on the main body, could easily miss an advance by his flank, which had started independently two miles away, and probably kept to cover as far as possible.

547 Wes faldyn. Skeat explains this form as "fallen" with an "excrescent d, due to Scandinavian influence," citing also Bk. XIII. 632. A form, foolde, occurs in The Sowdone of Babylone, line 1428, where Hausknecht explains it as from fealden, "to fold," meaning "folded, bent down, fallen"; citing also "Folden to grunde" and "Fiftene hundred Folden to grunden," from Layamon, 23,894 and 27,055-6. The result as to meaning is the

same either way.

547 war past. Clifford then had passed the Kirk before Randolph made a move. The scene of the conflict is usually placed at a position half-way between St. Ninian's and Stirling, now known as Randolph's Field. But this name is not older than the end of the eighteenth century (Old Stat. Acct., vol. xviii., p. 408). The origin of the nomenclature is two standing stones said to have been erected in memory of the victory (Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire, ed. 1817, p. 216). But standing stones are no uncommon feature in Scotland, and various traditions attach to them; and why this preference in commemoration? "Standing stones," on the other side of the Forth, are mentioned in the Wallace (Bk. v. 298).

557 In hy thai sped thame. Gray gives an account of this affair, in which his father was taken prisoner, in the Scalacronica (edit. Maitland Club. p. 141): "Sir Henry de Beaumont said to his men, 'Let us retire a little; let them [the Scots] come on; give them room [donez les chaumps.]" His father, Sir Thomas, charging on the Scots, was carried off a prisoner on foot, his horse having been slain on the pikes. He, too, mentions the death of Sir William Deyncourt (line 573), and says the

squadron was utterly routed. If Beaumont—to whom, with Deyncourt, Gray gives the command—proposed to allow the Scots more room by retiring, his detachment cannot have gone far past Randolph's original position (cf. also line 538). The remark seems absurd if applied to the ground at Randolph's Field. Buchanan says Randolph had horse, in which he is clearly wrong (Rerum Scotic. Hist., ed. 1762, chap. xxxix.), and he is followed on this point in White's History of the Battle of Bannock-burn (Edinburgh, 1871), p. 55. 573 Schir Wilyhame Dencort. See previous note.

598 Styk stedis, and ber doune men. An unhorsed knight in his heavy suit of full armour was a cumbrous unit, and if he fell, might find it impossible to rise in the press, or be assisted to do so, so as to be remounted on a fresh steed by his squire, whose duty it was to see to this, among other things. The author of the Vita Edw. notes as a mischance deserving remark that in this day's fighting the Earl of Gloucester was unhorsed (p. 202; see also on Bk. XII. 504).

## BOOK XII.

22 quyrbolle. Cuir-bouilli, or "boiled leather," was not really boiled, as in that case it would become horny and brittle and so quite unsuitable for the purposes to which it was put—the strengthening of armour in the transition period of the fourteenth century prior to the full use of plate, and the making of sheaths, bottles, caskets, etc. The leather was steeped in a warm mixture of wax and oil, which made it pliable and fit to receive the designs cut or embossed on it. It was then slowly dried. Helmet crests or other fittings were also made of it, as here.

29 the Boune. Henricus de Boun in Vita Edw. Sec. (see below). The name is variously spelled—Bowne (C), Bohun, etc. He was the nephew of Hereford. Barbour says "cosyne" in 31, but this, formerly, very frequently denoted a nephew or niece (N.E.D.).

33 merk-schot. Jamieson's Dictionary gives as explanation: "Seems the distance between the bow markis which were shot at in the exercise of archery." In the New English Dictionary: "The distance between the butts in archery" (citing this passage). E and H read bow-schote=150 to 200 yards.

That is, the men of his own battle at the "entry." 36 his men. not the whole army drawn up in line, as is generally assumed. Cf. Bk. XI. 440-53, and note.

28--2

42 his hors he steris. Cf. with the account, professing to be based on Barbour, in Scott's Lord of the Isles, canto vi., xv.: "The Bruce stood fast," etc.

49 in-till a lyng. "They quickly took their positions so as

to come at each other in a line."

- 58 And he downe till the erd can ga. I.e., De Boun; but Sir Herbert Maxwell says Bruce! (Robert the Bruce, p. 205). With this Scottish version of the event cf. the following English one (c. 1326): "When the English had now passed the wood"—i.e., the Torwood—"and were approaching Stirling, behold! the Scots were moving about, as if in flight, on the edge of the grove" (sub "memore, i.e., the wood of the New Park), "whom a certain knight, Henry de Boun, with the Welshmen, pursued up to the entry " (introitum, Barbour's "entre") "of the grove. For he had it in his mind that, if he should find Robert Bruce there, he would either slay him or bring him back his captive. But when he had come hither, Robert himself issued suddenly from the cover of the wood" (a latebris silvæ); "and the aforesaid Henry. seeing that he could not resist the crowd of Scots, and wishing to retire to his friends, turned his horse; but Robert withstood him, and with the axe which he carried in his hand, smashed in his skull. His squire, while endeavouring to shield and avenge his lord, is overcome by the Scots" (Vita Edw. Sec., p. 202). Gray says the advanced guard under the Earl of Gloucester entered the road within the Park and were repulsed (tost furvont recoillez. Scala., p. 141) by the Scots; and that, as was reported, Robert Bruce here slew a knight, Peris de Mountforth, with an axe. A John de Mountfort was slain at Bannockburn, and in the list cited his name immediately precedes that of Henry de Boun (Annales Londonienses, p. 231, in Chronicles of Edward I. and Edward II., vol. i.). Buchanan places this incident at the beginning of the main battle on Monday as something scarcely worth mentioning (parum quidem dictu) (Rer. Scot. Hist., ed. 1762, chap. xxxix.). Barbour, of course, concentrates on Bruce's performance, but the Vita Edwardi incidentally corroborates Gray in remarking that in this day's fighting Gloucester was unhorsed (p. 202), which could have happened only in the Park affair.
- 67 thai com on. As we see, the De Boun affair was part of a serious skirmish, an attempt to force the road to Stirling through the Park, in which the English van was repulsed. See above on 58, and hereafter on 176. This important fact is usually overlooked, as in Hume Brown's History, i., p. 158.

140 The layff went. Some, says Gray, fled to the Castle of Stirling (au chastel), the others to the King's host (Scala., p. 141).

144-6 "Quickly took off their helmets to get air, for they were hot, and covered with perspiration."

I.e., repulsed in the De Boun skirmish, and in that of Randolph and Clifford. These successes were clearly of the greatest importance, in so far as they put heart into the Scots, and prevented their being overawed, as they might well have been, by the greatness and terrifying appearance of the English host. The author of the Gesta Edw. de Carnarvon thus notes that at Bannockburn "they fought on both days" (utrisque diebus pugnaverunt), and the Scots" prevailed "(Chron. Edw. I. and Edw. II., ii. 46).

Bruce here offers his men alternative 194 gif vhe think, etc. courses, either to stay and fight or to retreat. Gray tells us that the Scots were on the point of retiring to a stronger position in the Lennox, when Sir Alexander Seton, secretly deserting the English side—no doubt because he saw that the chances of success were now with the Scotscame to Bruce and told him of the shaken condition of the English army, pledging his head that if Bruce attacked next day, he would win easily, and with little loss (Scala., p. 141). Bruce did attack. Seton was an English partisan in February, 1312 (Bain, iii., No. 245). Later he appears on the Scottish side (*ibid.*, 767, etc.).

210 Lordyngis, etc. For Bruce's speech, see Appendix B.

255-6 The various readings here show that to the scribes the sense was somewhat obscure. Bruce says that, should the English find them weak, and defeat them, they would have no mercy upon them. Skeat, by reading To in 255, and putting a period after oppynly, misses the point. That happyn and that wyn are hypothetical subjunctives. E and H have altered 256.

290 my brothir Neill. Nigel Bruce. See IV. 61, 176.

300 enveronyt. "The strength of this place shall prevent us being surrounded "-always Bruce's special fear, his men being few in comparison with the enemy. See note on

Bk. XIII. 275.

357 The Inglis men sic abaysing, Tuk. Similarly Gray writes that the English had "sadly lost countenance and were in very low spirits" (etoint de trop mal covyne) from what had taken place (Scala., p. 142). "And from that hour," says the Lanercost Chronicle, "fear spread among the English and greater boldness among the Scots? (p. 225). The rhetorical John de Trokelowe, however, declares that the English were "exasperated" (exacerbati), and firmly determined to be revenged or vanquished on the morrow (Chronica et Annales, p. 83). The last statement, though it would seem to be only a presumption on the chronicler's part, may apply to the lords, who, Barbour says, urged on their men to "tak a-mendis."

Barbour, Gray, and the Lanercost writer speak for the general mass, and their agreement establishes the fact.

390 bot he war socht. The English certainly feared a night attack. According to Gray, they passed the night under arms, with their horses bitted (p. 142). In the Vita Edwardi also we read that there was no rest for them, and that they spent a sleepless night. "For they thought the Scots would rather attack by night than await battle

- in the daytime" (pp. 202-3).
  392 Doune in the Kers. The Carse is the low-lying ground along Forth side, on which were the "pools" (see note on Bk. XI. 300), and which was thus in a generally marshy condition. The ancient limits of the Carse proper seem to be indicated in the O.S. map by the names Kerse Patrick, Kerse Mill, and Springkerse, all on the 40-feet level. Eastwards the land sinks towards the Forth; westwards it rises slightly to the 50-feet level at the foot of the ridge on which stands St. Ninian's. This middle division is called "the dryfield lands" in the Old Stat. Act, xviii., p. 388. Friar Baston also has the name: "The dry land (arrida terra) of Stirling" (see note on XI. 360). The English had to keep to the marshy land of the east in order to be clear of the Scottish leaguer in the Park. They thus crossed the Bannock (see below), and kept the "dryfield land" between them and the Scots. Having crossed, they could advance to the "hard feld" (Barbour) from their front. It is of the first importance to understand that the English did camp here, for, if so, the battle was fought on the strip of level, firm ground separating the armies. Gray corroborates Barbour: "The host of the King . . . had arrived on a plain towards the water of Forth, beyond Bannockburn—a bad, deep morass with pools" (ruscelle, Scala., p. 142.). Mr. Lang, seeing the difficulty of reconciling this statement with the site of battle as fixed by him and the other historians, says that Gray, in "beyond Bannockburn" (outre Bannockburn), must mean "south of Bannockburn, taking the point of view of his father, at that hour a captive in Bruce's camp" (History, i., p. 221). But Gray's hour of writing was forty years later; and Barbour, who says the same thing, cannot be explained away by supposititious hallucination.
- 407 quhen it wes day. "About the third hour of the day" (Trokelowe, p. 84). On June 24 the sun rises about 4 a.m.
- 413 Thai maid knychtis. A usual ceremony before an important battle. Those receiving the honour for distinguished conduct in the field were known as "knights-banneret." Previously they had been only "bachelors," for which see Glossary.

421 tuk the playne. Note the reiteration of this expression, and cf. what is said on Bk. XI. 544, and above on 392; also Vita Ed., p. 203: "When he (Bruce) learned that the English battles had occupied the plain (campus), he led out

his whole army from the grove" (de nemore).

426 richt as angelis schane brichtly. Probably in reference to the white "surcoats" worn by the knights over their armour (cf. Bk. VIII. 232-35). Baston writes: "The English Calls 111. 111. English folk, like Heaven's folk, in splendour shine" (Anglicolæ, quasi cœlicolæ, splendore nitescunt, Scotich. ed. Goodall, ii., lib. xii., chap. xxii.).

429 a schiltrum. A close-packed body of men of any order or size (see Glossary). Cf. Morte Arthure, line 2,922: "Owte of the scheltrone they schede (separated themelves), as schepe of a folde"; also several other uses in the same poem. Hemingburgh says that Wallace's "schiltrouns" at Falkirk were round (qui quidem circuli vocabantur " schiltrouns," ii., p. 180). Skeat questions this, for philo-

logical reasons! (see note here).

448 apon fut. I.e., the Scots left the cover of the wood, and advanced to meet the English chivalry on foot, contrary to all contemporary rules of the art of war. Cf. what is said on Bk. XI. 296. "None of them (the Scots) mounted a horse, but every man of them was protected by light armour such as a sword could not easily penetrate. . . . They marched close-packed like a thick hedge, and such a body could not be easily broken into" (Vita Edw. Sec., p. 203). Also of the Scots: "On their side all were on foot: moreover, chosen men of the highest courage, suitably equipped with very sharp axes and other weapons of war, packing their shields close together in front of them, made the column (cuneum) impenetrable " (Trokelowe, p. 84). The formation, in fact, was that of the famous "shield-wall" of Hastings and other early English battles.

477 Knelyt all doune. So, too, in Chron. de Lanercost: "But when the two armies had come very close all the Scots fell on their knees to say a Paternoster, and committed themselves to God, and asked help from heaven; when they had done this they advanced boldly against the English " (p. 225). This ceremony was directed by Maurice, Abbot of Inchaffray, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld (Bower,

Scotich., lib. xii., ch. xxi.).

" Fear of death." 488 dout of ded.

498 Schir Edward. The author of Vita Edw. says it was commanded by James Douglas, but in this he is wrong (p. 203).

504 frusching of speris, etc. The Lanercost writer, who derived his information, as he himself says, from a trustworthy eyewitness, has a very similar description. The English chargers, he writes, galloped against the Scottish spears as against a thick wood, "whereupon arose an exceeding great and terrible noise from breaking spears and steeds mortally wounded" (p. 225). The Scots, of course, would "stick" the horses, so as to unseat the heavily armoured riders—a serious accident for them (see note on Bk. XI. 598).

519 With speris... and axis. Of the Scots it is said in Vita Edw.: "They had an axe by the side, and carried spears (lanceas) in their hands" (p. 203). For the "weill grun-

dyn " axes, cf. Trokelowe above, line 448.

535 He held his way. The Scots appear to have attacked with successive battles, each coming up later than, and to the left of, its predecessor—in echelon by the right. So we may infer from Barbour, as well as from the rather obscure description in the Lanercost chronicle: "But they so ordered their army, that two divisions (dua acies) of it should precede the third, the first on the flank of the second, so that neither should go in front of the other (una ex latere alterius, ita quod neutra aliam pracedere!), to be followed by the third, in which was Robert" (p. 225). Gray simply says that the advance guard of the Scots cameon in line of schiltrons and engaged the English (Scala., p. 142). Baker alone states that the Scots stood drawn up in solid array behind an artificial "hurdle" covered ditch, and waited the English attack (Chron., p. 56).

537 The nyne battales. Probably, as Mr. Oman suggests (Art of War, p. 574), in the way the French were at Crecy, in three lines of three battles each, the advance guard under Gloucester and Hereford thus forming a separate body (cf. lines 435-7). Mr. Oman gives the tenth, however, to "a reserve under the King" (ibid.). Baker, whose account is the latest and is really a summary essay on tactics, divides the English army into three "wards" (custodias): first, the heavy horsemen, which he tumbles into the "fragile" ditch (see above on 536, and note on Bk. XI. 360); next, the foot with the archers reserved to deal with the enemy in flight (see on Bk. XIII. 51); and, third, the King himself, with the bishops and other "religious" men (Chronic., 56-7).

# BOOK XIII.

32 tynt the suet. "Lost their lives." The phrase in this sense occurs also in the Wallace: "The Scottis on fute gert mony loiss the suete" (The Wallace, Jamieson's edition, Bh. xii., line 194).

36 slew fire. "Struck out fire." Also in Wallace, iv. 285: "slew fyr on flint." Cf. from The Buik of Alexander: "thare dyntis, That kest fyre as man dois flyntis" (p. 236,

line 24).

Notes 44I

51 the archeris war perelous. Baker says that the archers were not given a suitable position, as in his time, being placed behind the first line instead of on the wings (cf. note on Bk. XII. 537, and below lines 102-5, and note on 104). "Some," he adds, "shot upwards so that their arrows fell fruitlessly (incassum) on the helmets of their adversaries; those who shot straight wounded a few Scots in the breast, but more English in the back " (Chron., pp. 57-58). At Falkirk (1298), after the failure of the first attack by the horsemen, Edward I. brought up his archers to play on the Scottish masses till these were broken, and then charged and dispersed them. Bruce anticipated this manœuvre, and made provision for it (see note on 98).

61 Robert of Keth. The Kethes or Keiths took their name from the barony of Keith, in Lothian. This Robert was still in the English service on May 23, 1308 (Bain, iii. 44), yet his name appears among those present at Bruce's Parliament of March 16, 1309, as Robert de Kethe, Marshall (Acts Parl. Scot., i., p. 99). Elsewhere he is said to have joined Bruce at Christmas, 1308 (Bain, No. 245). He received from Bruce the office of Earl Marshall as its holders, one of the branches of the "Mareschals," were adherents of England, and continued to be (Bain, iii.,

p. lxviii).

a syde. "On one side," as in line 163, "in-till a front." 68 at a syde. This movement is too vaguely described to be located exactly. Most probably it was to the left of the three "battles" now engaged (English right), on ground

presently occupied by Bruce with his own division.

98 nakit. "Without defensive armour," as in Bk. VII. 330. The two previous lines mean that the Scottish horsemen did not have to stop a stroke or hold against a blow; i.e., the archers offered no resistance. Bruce's intention, we may gather from lines 58-60, was so to harass the archers on the flank as to occupy them with their own defence and restrain their shooting. The attack, however, was so successfully pushed home that the archers were wholly scattered.

104 thair awne folk had no space. We gather that the archers had taken up a position on the right front of the main body, where they blocked the advance of the horsemen directly behind. These received the flying archers with blows, and pushed forward to take their place. Lanercost chronicler says the battle began with a skirmish between the opposing archers, and that the Scots archers were driven back. This, again, suggests that the archers were somewhere in front. Mr. Oman follows Baker in placing them behind the first line. See note on 51.

132 on a syde. See above on 68.

162 All four the battelis. The Vita Edw. Sec. (p. 203) and the Chron. de Lanercost (p. 225) divide the Scots into three battles (turmas, acies), the usual medieval arrangement. The latter also gives Robert the rear division, as here.

175 in ane schiltrum all. Gray says that the "battles" of the English were crowded close together (entassez estoint), and could not repeat their attacks upon the Scots (remuerent devers eaux), as their horses were impaled by the pikes (p. 142). In the Lanercost chronicle we read that the English behind (sequentes) "were not able to reach the Scots because of the interposition of the first line, nor in any way to help themselves" (p. 224). The English, indeed, were too many to be manœuvred according to the simple tactics of the day, and were, in addition, crowded on too narrow a front. There was no generalship. These were Bruce's chief advantages. He was protected by the hill and wood behind from being surrounded (cf. note on Bk. XI. 300). Besides, his rapid and successive advance prevented the English from developing any such intention. They could not well deploy among the "pools" and marshes.

183 quyntis. "Quyntis is merely the French cointises, signifying finery or quaint attire" (Skeat); generally, ornamental attachments to the armour. E reads quhytys, and H coates, so that we may have to do with the "white" surcoats. In viii. 232 Barbour speaks of hauberks

" quhit as flour."

208 the Scottis archeris. The effective part played by the

Scottish archers is usually overlooked.

283 quhen the King of England saw his men fle. The English writers make no mention of the appearance of the campfollowers. They date the break-up from the failure of Gloucester's attack with the van. As those behind, says the Lanercost chronicler, could not get forward (see note on 275), nothing remained but to take measures for flight (pp. 225-6). The front line had fallen back only to add to the confusion (cf. line 170, etc.). "When those who were with the King saw the Earl's division smashed up (contritum) and their friends making ready to fly, they said it was dangerous to stay longer," etc. (Vita Edw. Sec., p. 205). Gray says the King went much against his will (as Barbour reports one version in line 298), and that he knocked over with his mace the Scots that were catching at his charger's housings (Scala., p. 142). Trokelowe affirms that he laid about him "like a lion," and brandished a sword dripping with blood (Annales, p. 86).

297 By the renyhe. "Those who had been assigned to the King's rein were drawing the King forward by the rein out of the plain (hors du chaumpe) towards the castle " (Scala.,

p. 142).

307 I cheis heir to byde and de. In Vita Edw. Sec. it is said he hastened to assist the Earl of Gloucester when he saw him fall, and perished with him, "thinking it more honourable to perish with such a man than to escape death by flight" (p. 204). Cf. also Scala.: "I have never been accustomed to fly" (p. 143).

321 thrid best knycht. See note on Bk. XI. 174. He is highly spoken of by both Baston and the Vita Edw. writer. According to Bruce's English eulogist in the Scotichronicon, the other two were Bruce himself and the Emperor

Henry (lib. xiii., ch. xvi.).

328-9 fra . . . the King Wes fled, wes nane that durst abyde.

"When the King's banner is seen to depart the whole

army quickly disperses " (Vita Edw. Sec., p. 205).

335 Fled to the wattir of Forth. On no hypothesis other than that the battle was fought on the plain between the Forth and the Bannock can this fact be explained. Of the fact itself there is no question. The Lanercost chronicler, in his Versus, says: "Forth swallowed up many well furnished with arms and horses" (p. 227). They were probably seeking for a fact.

seeking for a ford.

337 And Bannokburn. "The folk in the English rear fell back upon the ditch (fosse) of Bannockburn, one tumbling over the other" (Scala., p. 142). "Another unfortunate thing happened to the English, because, since a little before they had crossed a great ditch into which the tide flows - Bannockburn by name - and now in confusion wished to retire, many knights and others, on account of the pressure, fell into it with their horses (cf. Barbour, line 338), and some with great difficulty got out, and many were quite unable to clear themselves of the ditch; and on this account Bannockburn was on English lips for many years to come" (Lanercost, 226). In Vita Edw. also mention is made of a "certain ditch" (fovea) which "swallowed up (absorbuit) many," and where a great part perished (p. 205). The Bannock turns sharply north near the English rear, but the description in Barbour and the reference above to the tide with the inclusion of the Forth, indicate the part nearer the mouth.

341 laddis, etc. I.e., the camp-followers.

352 Of slyk. In Chron. de Lanercost (p. 226) "Bannock's mud" (Bannoke limus). Edmund de Malolacu (Mauley), Edward's steward, met his death "in a certain slimy hollow" (in quodam antro lutoso. Flores Historiarum, iii., p. 159).
363 Philip the Mowbray said. Different interpretations were put

upon Mowbray said. Different interpretations were put upon Mowbray's action, but the fact and the quite satisfactory reason given by Barbour are borne out by the English chroniclers. "When the King comes to the castle, thinking he will find refuge there, he is repulsed like an enemy; the bridge is drawn up and the gate

closed. On this account the keeper of the castle was believed by many to be not unacquainted with treason, and yet he was seen that very day in his armour on the field, as it were ready to fight for the King. However, I neither acquit nor accuse the keeper of treason, but confess that in the providence of God the King of England did not enter the castle, because if he had then been admitted he could not have failed to be captured" (Vita Edw. Sec., p. 205). In Gesta Edw. de Carnarvon the Governor is wrongly called Alexander de Mowbray, and the account is: "The foresaid keeper, knowing that his supplies were not sufficient for himself and his men, and also fearing that Robert Bruce, having got the victory, would attack and capture the castle, did not wish to expose his King of England to such great danger, and, preferring to incur misunderstanding, refused on this account to open the castle of the King" (p. 47). castle was surrendered, and Mowbray entered the service of Bruce.

with the King's Knot—i.e., garden—a regular mound below the castle rock. It is mentioned by Sir David Lindsay in the sixteenth century. In 1302 Edward I. had a "Round Table" (la table rounde) ordained (ordinari) at Falkirk (Ann. Lond., p. 104). To "hold a Round Table" was a sporting function among knights; here some sort of building may be referred to, like that described by Murimuth (1344), intended to be built for the purpose at Windsor (Chronicle, p. 155). Probably, in that case, it was only of Barbour's own time. I incline, however, to the belief, from its associations in Lindsay's verse, that it was a natural feature—the circular crags enclosing the western division of the modern King's Park. It would thus be a place-name, like "Arthur's Seat."

380 the Park enveronyt thai. Gray says the King was taken round the Torwood and by the plains of Lothian (Lownesse, p. 143).

381 held in hy. The Lanercost chronicler says that they had "as guide a Scottish knight who knew by what route they could escape" (p. 227).

409 wes tane in. The Lanercost chronicler writes that Hereford and those with him were making for Carlisle when they were captured at Bothwell Castle: "For the sheriff, the keeper of the castle, who up to that time had held the castle for the King of England, seeing that his countrymen had been victorious in the war, suffered the more noble of them who had come there to enter the castle as if to have a safe retreat, and when they entered seized them," afterwards surrendering them to Bruce (p. 228).

In the anonymous chronicle used by Stevenson we have a similar account. Hereford and a few nobles were allowed to enter the castle, where they found themselves in custody. The rest remained outside the walls, and were suddenly set on by the Scots, who slew them, except a few who surrendered (Illustrations of Scottish History, p. 2). Barbour says three-fourths were taken or slain (416). In Ann. Lond. Hereford is said to have been accompanied by a thousand men-at-arms (p. 231). The Lanercost estimate is 600 horse and 1,000 foot, Umfraville being of the company (ibid.). Walsingham gives the total of earls, barons, and baronets captured and slain as 154; of clerics and squires an excessive number (Historia Angl., i., p. 154). The name of the keeper was Gilbert son as in E; he appears on record as "Fitz-Gilbert" (Bain, iii. No. 243, etc.). He joined Bruce and was the ancestor of the great Hamilton family. Bothwell Castle is on the Clyde.

417 Moris de Berclay. În Vita Edw. (p. 206) he is among those captured at Bothwell. According to the Lanercost historian, it was Pembroke (Valence) who fled "on foot" with the Welshmen, and escaped (p. 228). In Ann. Lond. de Valence is said to have fled nudis pedibus (bare-footed); that is, apparently, he removed his foot

and leg armour (p. 230).

456 Thai dispendit haly that day, In spoulyheing. The author of Vita Edw. declares that it was the preoccupation of the Scots with the plunder that allowed many English to escape. In his precise way, he estimates that the valuable equipment which fell to the Scots was worth £200,000 (p. 206), or at the ratio of 1:15 about £3,000,000 present

day (cf. note on 667-8).

463 spuris rede. I.e., gilt or gold spurs worn only by knights. The 700 pairs of C would give us 700 knights slain; E's 200 is probably nearer the truth. In Ann. Lond., (p. 231) we get a list of thirty-seven knights slain at "the battle of Stirling." Of the foot and squires, it is said, the most part (maxima pars) was not slain. Baker says about 300 men-at-arms (viri militares) were among the slain (57). Bower gives 200 knights slain besides Gloucester (Scotich. Goodall, edition 1759, ii., p. 250). Walsingham, from his MS. source, fixes the number of knights and squires who fell at 700 (Historia Anglicana, p. 141); Capgrave the lords, barons, and knights slain and captured at 154. More than 500 were reported dead who were afterwards found to be captives (Chronicle, p. 180) and had to be ransomed (Vita Edw., p. 206). Fabyan gives forty-two noblemen slain, and sixty-seven knights and baronets, while twelve "men of name" were taken prisoner (New Chronicles, p. 420).

466 Gilbert of Clar. About twenty-three years of age (Ann. Lond., p. 231). He fell in the first charge (Vita Edw.; Baker). Baker says the Scots would have gladly taken him alive for ransom had they known who he was, but that he did not wear his surcoat (toga) with his coat of arms (p. 57). Cf. lines 510-11. That men callit, says Barbour, having in mind Ralph de Monthermer, his stepfather who had previously horne the title.

father who had previously borne the title.

468 Payne Typtot. Paganus Typetot (Vita Edw.) or Tybetot (Ann. Lond.). "Paganus Typetoft," or "Typetot," is

the name in Chron. de Lanercost.

471 Wilyhame Vepowni. Sir William de Vepont (Veteriponte) was a Scotsman in the service of England till 1312, having been imprisoned on capture during the Comyn resistance in 1302. He was under Valence in Ayr in 1307 (Bain, ii., Nos. 1,283, 1,294; iii., No. 263). Walter the Ros was serving England in Linlithgow in 1312 (Bain, iii., p. 411).

serving England in Linlithgow in 1312 (Bain, iii., p. 411). 486 at rebours. I.e., treated badly, held "in great dislike" (Skeat). See Glossary. Edward had a son, Alexander.

by Isabella of Atholl (Exchq. Rolls, II. cxxxii.).

489-90. Erll Davy of Adell. Lord Hailes did not know "what judgment to form of this story," in view of the fact that sentence of forfeiture was not passed against Atholl till 1323 (Annales, ii. 58 note). But his lands were forfeited by October, 1314, and granted to Sir Neil Campbell (Robertson's *Index*, p. 26; ii. Scots Peerage), and he, then being in England, received three manors from Edward II. "till he recovers his Scottish possessions" (Bain, iii., p. 75). Atholl's career is, however, puzzling. His wife was Johanna, daughter of the murdered Comyn of Bade-Up till 1312 he is a supporter of England, and in December of that year even seems to have sat in the English Parliament. But in the previous October he is among those present in Bruce's Parliament at Inverness (Acta. Parl. Scot., vol. i., 103); next appears as Constable of Scotland, and, early in 1313, is a witness to charters to the Abbey of Arbroath (Scots Peerage). Then comes a blank till October, 1314, as above. There is thus room for Barbour's story: Atholl did give a short-lived support to the national cause, and a forfeiture of his lands did follow soon after Bannockburn. He remained an active adherent of England till his death, January, 1327.

495 Wilyhame of Herth. Apparently William Mareschal of Erth

495 Wilyhame of Herth. Apparently William Mareschal of Erth (Bain, iii. 343; cf. note on 61). Sir William de Erth was a supporter of Comyn in the Barons' War, and capitulated with him and others at Strathorde on February 9, 1304 (Bain, ii., No. 1,741). William de Erth, knight, was alive in 1333 (Bain, iii. 1,099). Erth, or Airth, is on the east

of Stirlingshire, on the Forth.

510 somdeill anoyit. Cf. note on 466.

512 till a kirk he gert hym be Brocht. John de Trokelowe says that Bruce sent the bodies of Gloucester and Clifford to King Edward while at Berwick, to be buried as he wished, and this without demanding any payment as ransom (Annales, p. 87).

523 Betung in C is certainly wrong; E gives the correct form Twenge. Marmaduke de Twenge appears on the list in Foedera and elsewhere. He was the hero of Stirling

Bridge (1297), who cut his way back over the bridge.

531 trete hym curtasly. Trokelowe says that Bruce caused his noble prisoners to be treated so becomingly and courteously (decenter ac civiliter) "that the hearts of many who were opposed to him he turned, in a wonderful way, to feeling an affection for him " (Annales, p. 87).

544 become of his dwelling. "Became one of his company," as in Bk. IV. 481, where Bruce says of Douglas and his men

in Arran : "Thai ar all of my duelling."

553 Lowrens=Lawrence. Probably the same Sir Lawrence de Abernethy who in 1338 had provisions sent him by Edward III. for the Castle of Hawthornden. He was thus "Inglis man" again (Bain, iii., p. 235, No. 1,291).

578-85 He convoyit thame so narrowly, etc. "Some, however, lagging in the flight, were slain by the Scots, who followed them swiftly (velociter)" (Chron. de Lanercost, p. 227). "The King escaped with great trouble" (a graunt payn, Scala., p. 143).

587 Wynchburch. On the road from Linlithgow to Edinburgh.

592 so feill. According to the Lanercost historian, the King was accompanied by many knights and footmen (p. 227). 612 Erll Patrik. Of March. See note on Bk. XI. 46. "Patrick

Earl of March received him honourably, etc., for at that

time he was his man" (soun homager. Scala., 143.) 615-16 A bate, etc. "When he came thither (Dunbar) he embarked on a ship, and with his own company put in at Berwick" (Vita Edw. Sec., p. 205). "Thence the King went by sea to Berwick and afterwards to the south (Scala., 143). "At Dunbar the King, with his special friends, embarked on a boat (scapham) for Berwick" (Lanercost, p. 227). Barbour says they landed at Bamborough on the coast of Yorkshire, and in line 645 gives the number who thus accompanied the King as seventeen.

619-21 The laif, etc. "The others (see above), not having a ship, come (to Berwick) by land" (Vita Edw. Sec., p. 205). The King, says the Lanercost writer, left all the others to their fate, who, however, came safe and sound to England

(p. 228).

631 The Kyng eschapit. According to Baker, "no mortal ingenuity, neither the swiftness of the horses nor the cover on the way (involucra locorum) could have kept the King from capture by the Scots," had not Christ Himself, at

- the intercession of His Mother, brought him out of Scottish territory, as both the King and his companions afterwards confessed. In his peril Edward vowed to found a monastery dedicated to the "Mother of God," where twentyfour friars might study theology (Baker, p. 58); and, in fulfilment thereof, established Oriel College at Oxford (Hailes, ii. 57 note).
- 667-8 The castell and the towrys . . . doune gert he myne. Stirling Castle thus lay in ruins till 1336-7, when it was rebuilt for Edward III. "after the conquest," probably on the old plan. Stone walls and towers were erected, a "peel" of wood, to the north the walls (parietes) of which were plastered over, and various inner buildings for the garrison, etc., also of wood daubed with mortar and roofed with turf (Bain, iii., pp. 364-8). The rebuilding and repairs cost £280, equal to about £4,000 now (Bain, lviii.).

676 he gaf. See note on 409.

687 The Erll wes changit. In Vita Edw. Sec. (pp. 208-9) is recorded the exchange of the Earl for the wife of Bruce and other Scottish captives, including the Bishop of Glasgow. On October 2, 1314, "Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, the Countess Carrick, wife of Robert de Brus, with his sister and daughter and Donald de Mar," were at Carlisle Castle, "to be taken thence to a place arranged by the Earl of Essex and Hereford and the Sheriff" (Bain, iii., No. 393). Mar is, no doubt, the "young earl" referred to in the Vita Edw., which says further that Edward gave to his sister, Hereford's wife, all the Scottish captives since the time of Edward I.—fifteen and more—to procure the release of her husband (p. 208).

695 wes King. Robert II.

697 Davy. David II. (June 7, 1329 to February 22, 1371). scarcely deserved Barbour's epithet "worthy."

702 Fif yheir. In 1375 Robert was in the fifth year of his reign; he would not have "passit" it till February 22, 1376. He was born March 2, 1316, and in 1375 was in his sixtieth year. The year in Scotland, however, began on March 25, so that Barbour's cross-dating really stands for what we should call the early spring of 1376. He was then engaged on The Bruce.

705-6 the gud King Robert. I.e., Robert I. the Bruce, dead forty-six years. It is curious to find this elaborate dating " of the compyling of this book" here, and not at the end. Evidently the mention of the marriage of the Steward, the reigning King's father, is Barbour's cue. There is no reason to suppose that this was a subsequent insertion, and we may conclude that the poem was completed somewhat later.

735 our-raid all Northumbirland. "They (the Scots) plundered the northern bounds of England as far as Richmond and

returned, devastating the country with fire and carrying off with them many captives" (Gesta Edwardi, p. 47). Cf. Barbour, lines following. On July 1, 1314, the Bishop of Durham writes the King regarding Scottish preparations for an invasion of England, of which he has heard. On October 7, 1314, the Prior and Convent of Durham pay the Earl of Murray eight hundred marks to secure the bishopric immunity from invasion for a stated period (Letters from Northern Registers, Nos. cxliv., cxlix.). According to the Lanercost chronicler, the Scots entered by Berwick, and burned almost all Northumberland, spared Durham for a monetary consideration, penetrated to the Tees and to Richmond, and returned, via Lanercost, with a great body of cattle and captives (pp. 228, 220).

#### BOOK XIV.

4 Scotland to litill wes. According to the Annalist, it was the Scots who were not satisfied with their own country; but this is merely a rhetorical comment (Annals of Ireland, p. 344). The anonymous Chronicle in Stevenson's Illustrations says that Edward Bruce, elated by the success of the Scots, aspired to the name of King (ad nomen regium aspirans, p. 3). Fordun's version is the same as that of Barbour: "Edward Bruce was not willing to live in peace with his brother unless he got half the kingdom for himself, and for this reason the war was started in Ireland (Gesta Annalia, cxxxiii.).

8 had treting With the Erischry. It was afterwards (1316-17) made a charge against Walter de Lacy and Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, that they had sent messengers and letters to invite Edward Bruce to Ireland. The legal documents in the case are given in Chartularies, etc., of St. Mary's Abbey (vol. ii., pp. 407-9). This charge is also noted in the Annals of Ireland (Fragment), under February 2, 1317, where it is said that, on inquiry, the Lacys were acquitted (p. 298). Nevertheless, they and their relatives were fined £200 (Preface, p. cxxix). The Chronicle in Stevenson appears to refer to the same case, when it says that Edward Bruce was persistently (sæpissime) invited by a certain Irish magnate with whom he had been educated in his youth

(p. 3).
Maii "The Scots first entered Ireland on May 26, 1315" (die Sancti Augustini Anglorum, mense Maii. Annals of Ireland, p. 344). The Annals of Ulster fix his landing at the beginning of the year (ii., p. 423); as do also Annals of Loch Cé (i., p. 563). Edward Bruce had a fleet of 300 ships (Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 268).

29

25 Philip the Mowbray. Ct. Bk. XIII., line 544. Mowbray's name does not appear in the Annals as accompanying Edward Bruce, nor that of Soulis or Ramsay, but others are mentioned (p. 344). Mowbray is mentioned later

(Annals, Fragment, p. 299), and in Knighton, i., p. 411. 28 Schir Johne Steward. Brother of Sir Walter Steward. See Bh. XVIII. 33 (Annals, 344).

29 Ouchtirhouss, or Auchterhouse, is in the south of Forfarshire. From the Wallace we learn that this was Alexander Ramsay, son of Sir John Ramsay Wallace's friend.

> "His sone was called the flour of courtlyness; As witnes weill in to the schort tretty Eftir the Bruce, quha redis in that story."

(The Wallace, Bk. vii. 900-2.)

31 Fergus de Ardrossane. Ardrossan is on the coast of Ayr. Fergus had at first joined Bruce, was captured, and procured his release by going over to Edward II., from whom he in 1312 received the "barony of Bisshoplande," near Kirkintilloch (Bain, iii., Nos. 51, 227, 265). Probably he reverted to Bruce after Bannockburn. He is among those mentioned in the Annals (p. 344). He received a fresh grant of the lands of Ardrossan and others apparently in

1316 (Reg. Mag. Sig., pp. 10, 51).
33 Wokingis Firth. This name is evidently corrupt. Innes identifies it with Larne Lough, and so also do Bain and Skeat, citing from Reeves (Eccles. History of Down and Connor) forms such as Wolderfrith, etc., and the present Olderfleet Castle on that Lough (Bain, iii. xxxiv, note). In a letter of Edward II., 1311, we have "Wolrikesford, near Knacfergus (Carrickfergus), in Ulster," whence a fleet is to sail against Robert Bruce (Bain, iii., No. 216). In 1327 King Robert is to get corn from the Ulster men delivered at "Ulringfirth" (ibid., 922). The Annals say, first, that the Scots put it at "Clondonne," or Glen Dun, in Antrim, south of Torr Head, the nearest point (eighteen miles) to the Scottish coast, and, immediately after, that they entered Ireland "near Cragfergus, in Ulster" (p. 344). Robert Bruce was at "Glendouyne" when he executed the agreement mentioned above. Probably the Scots touched at Glendun, and then coasted down to Larne Lough.

38 sex thousand men. Six thousand is the number in the Annals (p. 344).

47 Maundvell. The Scots "drove out Sir Thomas de Maundevile and other loyal men from their own land" (Annals of Ireland, p. 344). The Bysets were descended from John Byset, who was banished from Scotland by Alex ander II., and who got land in Antrim under the de Burghs. The Logans were large proprietors in the north of Ireland Notes 45I

(Reeves's Down and Connor in Innes), as also were the Savages (ibid.). John Logan and Sir Hugh Byset are the heroes of a great slaughter of the Scots in Ulster on November 1, 1316 (Annals, Fragment, p. 298). Sir Hugh

afterwards joined the Scots (Bain, iii., No. 632).

80 In that battale. Near the river Bann (Annals, 344). "tane or slane."—The Earl of Ulster, Richard de Burgh, was put to flight; his son, William de Burgh, and John de Statona were captured, and many English slain. The Scots were successful (Annals, pp. 344-5).

102 the kyngis. Reguli, petty kings or important chiefs, a usual

Gaelic equivalent. Cf. Bk. XVIII. 9 and note.

105 Makfulchiane (C), Makgullane, Makgoulchane (H). Jamieson says Irish Macleans (MacGillian); Innes suggests Mac-Coolechan: "MacEthelan" is among the chiefs in Foedera (iii., p. 476). Most likely we have to do with O'Fuillchain in the form MacFuillchain, from which, by MacFhuillchain, could also come MacGuillchain, as in H.

106 Makartane, Makmartane (C), Macarthane (H). tan" was one of "the septs of Ire, son of Miletus"

(Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 30).
113 Endwillane. Innes suggests "the Pass of Emerdullam" (1343), which he identifies with Moiry Pass, where Moiry Castle is about a quarter of a mile from Kilnsaggart, or Kilsaggart. Apparently this is Moiry Castle, north of Dundalk.

133 At Kilsaggart. Kilnasaggart ("cell of the priest"), about a quarter of a mile from Moiry Castle; for which see on Bk. XVI. 62.

135 Dundawk. Dundalk, within the English Pale. For spelling,

ct. in XI. 437 and Appendix G.

138 Richard of Clare. Barbour has been censured by his editors. following the cue of Lord Hailes (Annals, ii. 70, note), for the prominence given to Richard de Clare in the opposition to the Scots. True, as Hailes pointed out and reasons from, he was not the Justiciar of Ireland, a post occupied at this time by Sir Edmund de Butler (Historic and Munic. Docts., Ireland, p. 328); after November 23, 1316, by Roger de Mortimer (Patent Rolls); and so was not technically "in all Irland luf-tenand." Nevertheless it is perfectly certain that Clare took the leading part, at this stage at least, in the defence of English interests, and that Barbour's statement to this extent is justified. Thus, in a letter to Edward of February 15, 1316, it is mentioned, with respect to the operations of the Scots, that the writer, to protect the King's honour, will take counsel with certain lords and Richard de Clare, a reference which Bain (Index) interprets to mean that Clare was in command in Ireland. The writer, too, thinks it worth mentioning that Clare was not at the battle (of Arscoll).

- Again, on May 16, Clare is pardoned an ancestral debt for his great labour and cost repelling the disturbance stirred up in Ireland by the Scottish enemies" (Bain, iii., Nos. 469, 488; Patent Rolls, p. 459). And there is a further grant of same date to de Clare, "in consideration of his great labours as above," of certain privileges, castles, and lands, "to hold during pleasure, and the continuance of the disturbance by the Scots, in aid of his maintenance on the King's service" (Patent Rolls, p. 459).
- 142 Erll of Kyldare. The Geraldines, or Fitz-Geralds, had been Earls of Kildare since 1294 (Annals of Ireland, p. 323 and Index).
- 143 The Bremayne with the Wardune. This pair appear in later operations as "Richard de Birmingham" and "Robert de Verdon" (Annals, p. 350). But on May 18, 1316, Nicholas de Verdun gets 200 marks for losses sustained against the Scots (Patent Rolls).
- 145 The Butler. Edmund de Butler, Justiciary (cf. on 138). 146 Moris le Fyss Thomas. Maurice Fitz-Thomas, who married,
  - in 1312, the daughter of the Earl of Ulster, and afterwards (1329) was created Earl of Desmond (Annals, p. 341).
- 172 on the morn. June 29, 1315 (Annals, p. 345). 188 Half-deill ane dyner. In the Alexander Clarus says of the army of Alexander:
  - "And thay ar anely till dynare To our great hoste" (pp. 308-9).
- 224-6 "The Scots took the town, spoiled and burned, and slew all who resisted " (Annals, 344).
- 252 Kilross. "(Cill-rois of Adamnan) is now Maghross, or
- Carrickmacross" (Innes).
  254 Richard of Clare. According to the Annals, Edmund de Butler (p. 345).
- 257 A gret hoost. A great army"; and Richard de Burgh with an innumerable army" as well. They came together to the district of Dundalk (p. 345).
- 270 to ges. Barbour usually "guesses" ten thousand to "a battle," as here and elsewhere.
- 280 gadering of the cuntre. I.e., "mere countrymen not skilled soldiers." This great army was raised from Munster, Leinster, and Connaught (Annals, p. 345), and Edward Bruce's description is no doubt right.
- 289 stedis trappit. See note on Bh. XI. 130.
- 300 fled scalit. "They fled—how is unknown" (Annals, p. 345). The date is circa July 22, 1315.
- 313 Judas Machabeus. See note on Bk. I. 466.
- 313 Judas Machaveus. See hote on Br. 1. 400.
  329 Odymsy. "Fyn O'Dymsy" among those summoned to
  Bannockburn (Foedera, iii. 476). O'Dempsy was "dux
  Reganorum," or chief of the Ui Riagain; Iregan in
  Queen's County (Annals, p. 333). In the Annals of Clon-

macnoise Bruce is taken north "by the procurement of O'Neal and Ulstermen" (p. 269).

332 To se his land. I.e., in Leinster. He, of course, takes them out of the way (cf. on 360).

337 A gret revar. Skeat holds that this is the Blackwater flowing into the southern end of Lough Neagh, which was the boundary between the English Pale and the independent country of the Tyrone O'Neils, and was of old known as the Avon More, "the great river." But this is inconsistent with lines 369-371, where one of the rivers is the northern Bann, "ane arme of se," and Skeat's ingenious explanation of the latter phrase, taking sea = Lough, Beg or Neagh, is quite superfluous. In fact, he is astray as to vital details, as witness what is said on Thomas Dun (line 376). Barbour himself is unsatisfactorily vague in his geographical matter, and none of the Annals makes any mention of the trick here descanted upon, nor of the intervention of the pirate Thomas. But the main features can be found in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, pp. 269-271, and Annals of Loch Cé, 265-7. The Scots and the Ulster men (Antrim and Down) were at Innis Kaeyne (Innishkeen), seven miles west of Dundalk. The English marched to Louth, just south of them. The Scots retired through Ulster (Antrim and Down), not, as Skeat suggests, by the west shore of Lough Neagh, until they came to Coleraine, not far from the Bann estuary. Then they crossed the river by the bridge, which they broke down so that the English who followed them could not cross, and the Bann lay between the two armies. Thereupon the English plundered on the Ulster side, apparently among the sympathizers with the Scots, finally retreating to Connor (cf. lines 396, 460). In the interval must have occurred the attempted drowning out of the Scots and the passage back over the river by means of Thomas of Dun, who had sailed up the estuary of the Bann (line 371).

354 The ysche of a louch. The outlet of a loch"; from the hurried nature of the operation necessarily a small loch or a narrow outlet; possibly, too, a loch since drained off. It cannot be Lough Beg, for that would be too far away for Thomas Dun. On the other hand, they must have been brought some distance up the west side of the Bann, for after they had crossed it was still not known where they were (line 386), and they soon got in touch with the English, who were ten miles from Connor, to which they

afterwards retreated (460).

360 With mekill payne. To add to the difficulties of this passage, the misleading of the Scots seems to be claimed for the Lacys in the case regarding them (see on line 8). The Lacys explain that on the occasion on which they had a conference (parliamentaverunt) with Edward Bruce they,

by their cunning (per eorum cautelam), led Edward Bruce with his army among the Irish who were felons to the King -that is, apparently, the North Ulster men (see on 337). Among them Edward Bruce marched for fourteen days, and lost a great number of men and horses on the march towards Leinster, to which he could have come in two days if he had been rightly directed (Chartularies of St. Mary's, I., p. 408). It is scarcely likely that Edward Bruce was twice tricked in this way, and the Irishman, Dempsy or another, may have been the agent af the Lacys. to be able to follow the whole operation we should require much more information than is available.

373 Ullister. Ulster in the ancient sense of Antrim and Down. 376 Thomas of Dun. Skeat compiles an hypothetical biography for this "scummar of the se," but Thomas was an uncomfortably well-known personage. He was the most notorious pirate on the west coast, as John Crab was on the east (see Bh. XVII. 239). We learn from Bain's Calendar that on September 12, 1315, Thomas Dun and others, "with a great 'navye' of Scots," plundered a ship in Holyhead Harbour (No. 451). He kept on his depredations with a crew of Scots (No. 549; Patent Rolls, i., p. 696). He was captured in July, 1317, and gave information about an intended attack by the Earl of Moray on the Isle of Man (No. 562). Thereafter he disappears from notice, probably via the gallows. He was hovering about between Ulster and Scotland at this time, and Edward was ordering the Mayor and bailiffs of Drogheda to chase him (Hist. and Munic. Docts., Ireland, p. 377).

380 Thai knew him weill. See previous note.

382 According to the Annals, Edward Bruce cautiously or cleverly (caute) crossed the Bann in pursuit of the English army, retiring to Connor (Annals, p. 346).
383 in biggit land. "Land with houses on it"—i.e., cultivated.

389 With a gret host, Richarde of Clar. In the Annals it is the Earl of Ulster (Richard de Burgh), with the Justiciar (Butler) and other magnates, who had undertaken to bring Edward Bruce to Dublin alive or dead. So, too, in Annals of Clonmacnoise and of Loch Cé it is De Burgh, the "Red Éarl."

394 Coigneris. Connor, to the north of the town of Antrim.

"Conyers" in Annals.
405 Alane Stewart. Cousin of Walter Stewart, and ancestor of the Darnley Stewarts, Earls of Lennox. He is mentioned later in the Annals among the Scottish leaders (p. 359).

406 Schir Robert Boyde. Both E and H read Robert, probably

correctly, as there is no notice of the Gilbert of C

447 On this wis. This, or one of the later skirmishes, must be that referred to in the Annals when the Earl and some of his side were put to flight, and several captured (p. 359).

- 460 Thair wayis towart Coigneris. After Edward Bruce crossed the Bann the English army withdrew to Connor (Annals,
- p. 359). 515 Fize Warin. No doubt the Alan FitzWarin captured later by the Scots (Annals, 349). See on xv. 75.
- 522 Nycholl of Kylkenane. Kilkenane was before the Reformation a parish in Island Magee, the outer limb of Larne Lough (Innes). A "Michael of Kylkenan" is on record in 1310 (Reeves, History of Down, etc., ibid.). Hart's edition here gives Michell, which is perhaps the correct reading.

# BOOK XV.

- 8 In battale. The date of the English defeat at Connor is on or shortly after September 10, 1315. The Annals are not clear on the point, and the capture of William de Burgh on the 10th seems to refer to one of the earlier skirmishes mentioned in the previous book (Annals, p. 346).
- 39 The barell-ferraris. See Glossary. Cf. "Barell-ferrers they brochede, and broghte them the wyne" (Morte Arthure, line 2714).
- 55 Quha mast, etc. "Who most would get the upper hand." 63 That evir durst, etc. "No one dared to wait for his comrade,'
- 75 Fizwarine. The Annals suggest that he was not captured till early in the following year, and he is not mentioned among the captives at "Conyers" (pp. 349, 346).
- 83 Mont-peleris. Apparently Montpelier, then famous for its School of Medicine, an Arab foundation.
- 98 Syne thidder. The account in the Annals states that "Baron de Donull" made head against the Scots, but that they chased his men boldly as far as "Cragfergus" (p. 346). The castle had been provisioned against the Scots (Bain, iii., No. 479).
- 100 Palmesonday. April 4, 1316. The garrison was suffering great privations from lack of food (Annals, Fragment, p. 297).
- 101 Tysday. Tuesday in Easter-week, 1316, was April 13.
- 105 Paske evin. Saturday night, April 10.
  107 Devilling. Dublin. According to the Annals, Maundeville came with men from Drogheda, arriving at Carrickfergus on April 8, and inflicting a defeat upon the Scots, who lost about thirty men (p. 350).
- III The Mawndvell, ald Schir Thomas. So also in Annals (p. 350).
- 131 the day. April 11. The Annals place this (the second) attack on the Scots upon Easter-eve, April 10 (in vigilia

Pasche., p. 350). Similarly St. Mary's Annals, p. 282. Nothing is said about a breach of truce. Barbour, however, gives evidence of having been thoroughly well

informed. See below on 205-9.

137 the Kyng. I.e., Edward Bruce, apparently not crowned King till some weeks later, May, 1316, "a little after the feast of Philip and James" (May 1). The Annals really seem to fix it in 1315 (p. 345), but they have already stated that Edward did not land till May 26. The chronology is confused (cf. on Bk. xiv. 21). See also line 161.

181 Gib Harpar. Probably Gilbert the Harper, or minstrel.

His fate is told in Bk. XVIII.

183 of his stat. These words suggest that he was of some special

192 reft the lift. Sir Thomas Maundeville was slain (Annals,

p. 350; St. Mary's Annals, p. 282).
205-9 Skeat evidently thinks that these lines refer to the same incident as that described above in lines 190-2, and actually prints in his rubric "as I said" as a summary of Barbour, though Barbour has nothing to suggest these words. But the person previously slain is "the Mawndvell" -i.e., Sir Thomas himself, whom Barbour has already so denominated (III). The present victim is a Maundeville whose "propir nayme" he does not know, but who, we learn from St. Mary's Annals, was "John Maundevyll," brother of Sir Thomas (p. 282).

259 The castell till him yhalde. Carrickfergus Castle was surrendered (Annals, Fragment, p. 297; Bain, iii. 970) apparently in September, 1316 (Fragment, ibid.). Thus, if begun after Connor, the siege must have occupied the

Scots for a year—the greater part of 1316.

260 Till sauf thame thair liffis. The defenders were granted life and limb (vita et membrum. Fragment, p. 297).

272 the Tarbard. Tarbert, Kintyre: Gaelic Tairbeart, a portage, an isthmus.

274 draw thar schippes. According to the Magnus Saga, chap. xx., Magnus, King of Norway, agreed with the King of Scotland, Edgar, in 1102, that he should have "all the islands to the west of Scotland, between which and the mainland a helm-carrying ship could pass." Magnus then had "a small ship" drawn across the isthmus at Tarbert, with himself sitting at the helm, and so secured Kintyre. "There is a narrow ridge between it (Kintyre) and Scotland, so that ships are often drawn across it."

292 Ald prophesy. This probably derives from the incident told

of above.

299 Johne of Lorne. Barbour is quite wrong as to the career and fate of John of Lorn or Argyll ("de Ergadia," "Daragille," in records). He had escaped to England in

1309 (see Bk. 128), and was Admiral of Edward's fleet in the west by 1311 (Bain, iii., No. 203). In the summer of 1314 he went to the Irish coast with a fleet (355), and was in command there in 1315-1316 (No. 479, Hist. and Municip. Docts., Ireland, p. 344). He returned from the Irish service in 1316 "impotent in body," and received a pension from Edward II., but died a year and a half later, probably towards the end of 1317, in London (Bain, iii., No. 912).

318 the Forest. Ettrick Forest.

321 Eumond de Calion, a Gascoune. Correctly, as in records, "Remon Caillau," or "Reymound Cailough" (Bain, iii., Nos. 470, 477). He was perhaps a relative of the Bishop of Durham who died in the same year, 1316, "Recardus Kellow" (Lanercost, p. 233). Other Gascons are mentioned as having taken part in this sally-Arnant de Poillant, Pierres de Logar, etc. (ibid.). The information in Bain is contained in letters from the Governor of Berwick (see next note), and petitions to the King from some of the townspeople.

325 He had than Berwik in keping. No; Sir Moryz or Maurice de Berkele(y) was "warden of Berwick-on-Tweed." Caillou was only one of "the King's sergeant-at-arms" (Bain, iii., No. 477)-i.e., an officer of the royal household.

327 a gret cumpany. A "great part of the garrison" went out on this foray. They had been forbidden to go out by the warden, but Berwick was in desperate straits for want of food, and they replied that "it was better to die fighting than starve" (Bain, 477). The date of the foray is February 14, 1316.

329 the nethir end of Tevydaill, etc. Teviotdale, locally so pronounced. The forayers went as far as "within two leagues (miles) of Melros Abbey" (Bain, 477). The Merse is South Berwickshire, the "March," or frontier.

333 Schir Adam of Gordoun. See note on Bk. XI. 46. He became a "Scottis man" apparently after Bannockburn. His lands of Gordon were in East Lothian.

335 drif away than fe. "They took many prisoners and cattle" (Bain, 470).

\*337-\*338. These lines mean that Gordon saw only small bodies ("scaill"; cf. line 344\*) of the English in retreat, and the "swains" in possession of the prey—i.e., driving the cattle. Cf. lines \*353-\*354 and 339-341. "Scaill" is a noun here as in \*353.

\*354 a childrome. The scattered bands assembled in one body to deal with the Scots in pursuit, and sent on the cattle in front. For "childrome," or schiltrome," see note on

Bh. XII. 249.
341 made a staill. "Staill" is certainly to be preferred to "scaill." which is contrary to the sense of the passage.

Skeat, in his note, admits as much. Cf. similar use in Bh. XVII. 97. The forayers "made a stand" to defend the cattle from the Scots. The fight was at Scaithmoor.

(Scala., p. 143). 351 on his luf, etc. "Let each man think on his love."

thai wer, etc. "Though the English were very many more than the Scots." Barbour's usual reckless use of "thai." 375-6 thai wer, etc. 377 wes ded. The writer in Bain did not know whether Caillou

was dead or only a prisoner (No. 470).

381 sum has slayne. The foragers lost 20 men-at-arms and 60 foot, killed or prisoners (Bain, No. 470). "The Gascons were slain to a man" (furount mors toutes playnes de Gascoins. Scala., p. 143). The Scots, of course, recovered the castle, and the Berwick garrison were soon dying of hunger on the walls (ibid., No. 477).

392 hap him fell. "If it so happened."

393 That. I.e., the killing of the "cheftune," or leader of his

opponents.

- 405 full gret invy. Neville appears to have had a weakness in this way. He had already slain a cousin of Robert Bruce in a quarrel as to which was the greater lord (Scala., p. 143). He was known as "the Peacock of the North,"
- which significantly describes him (Bain, iii., p. xxv).

  efor Berwyk. The fight between Douglas and Neville 435 Befor Berwyk. took place at Berwick (Scala., p. 143; Gesta Edw. de Carn., p. 56). The Gesta dates it June, 1319; Barbour seems to place it in 1316, but says nothing definite; nor does Gray, "another time" (Scala., p. 143), introducing it, like Barbour, after the Skaithmoor fight, but unlike Barbour, also after Lintalee.

477 no mycht till us. "Douglas with his yeomanry shall have

no power compared with ours."

- 503 Schir Ralf the Nevell, etc. There is on record a petition by "Rauf de Neville" to the King asking for assistance in ransoming himself, and explaining that he, with two of his brothers, was taken prisoner on the day on which his brother Sir Robert was killed by the Scots (Bain, iii., No. 527).
- 504 the Baroun of Hiltoun. Apparently Sir Robert de Hilton, who is a witness in 1310 to a grant by the Bishop of Durham of a manor in Scotland (Bain, iii., No. 1147). Hilton is near Berwick.

505 other of mekill mycht. "Many of his (Neville's) company were captured, and the rest put to flight" (Gesta, p. 56). Cf. line 510.

### BOOK XVI.

8 in Scotland for till pas. Barbour, as he himself explains, now goes back to the beginning of the siege of Carrickfergus after the victory at Connor. According to the Annals of Ir., Moray crossed to Scotland on September 15, 1315, to procure more soldiers, "at which time the said Bruce was besieging the Castle of Carrickfergus" (p. 346). Moray was back in November with five hundred men (p. 347). Barbour mentions but one trip on which he returned with King Robert (line 43), but that would have to be a year later. Further, he dates this journey after the fall of Carrickfergus (see on 38).

16 till his schippes. He had four pirate vessels laden with Irish plunder, of which one was sunk (Annals of Ir., p. 346). The Scots had sent back their own ships (Bk. xiv. 35).

- 38 Till Cragfergus. According to Barbour's chronology, Robert Bruce crossed to Ireland at some time after the fall of Carrickfergus, as related in the previous book. But the news of King Robert's arrival appears to have reached Dublin about the first week in September, 1316. Carrickfergus fell some time later in the same month (Frag., p. 297). The Annals of Ulster date the arrival about the end of 1316 or beginning of 1317 (II., p. 429, and note) The Annals of Clonmacnoise (p. 279) and the Annals of the Four Masters (III., p. 515) place it in 1317, by which time Carrickfergus, of course, was in possession of the Scots.
- 62 Indervillane. "Dr. Reeves believes this to be an old garbled name for that pass, known later as Bealach an Maghre, or Moyry Pass. It was on the old road; indeed, the only possible one, from Leinster to Ulster. It is in the parish of Killevy, county of Armagh, but only a few perches from the boundary of Lowth" (Innes).
- 63 the moneth of May. Must have been much earlier (see on 262).
- 74 The wardane thair. See on Bk. XIV. 638.
- as son of his sister Marie by her marriage with Sir Neil Campbell (Robertson's Index, p. 26; 11, 18). Bain strangely says that of Sir Neil's two wives on record neither was a Bruce (Calend., ii., lix). Marie's marriages are somewhat ravelled (see on Bk. viii. 397), but this one is certain. Colin got the grant of Lochaw (Robertson, ibid.). There was another nephew of the same marriage, John (Index, p. 19; 105), who also went on this occasion to Ireland (Annals, p. 344).

- 131 That he dynnit on his arsoune. "Knocked heavily against his saddle." Cf. Alexander, where Gaudifer is struck with spears. "Quhill on his arsoune dintit he" (p. 99).

  132 tyt hym doune. "The King bade (the others) remove him
- quickly from his horse," apparently because his horse was killed (line 126) and he stunned; or, as Skeat suggests, that he should fight on foot, instead, I suppose, of being rash on horseback.

"That we shall have plenty to do 141 That we sall have, etc. presently."

150 In four battellis, fourty thousand. Cf. on Bk. XIV. 270. The numbers, of course, are improbable; but see next note.

- 179 So hard ane fichting. This battle I cannot trace in the Annals, but Butler, the Justiciary, is said to have assembled an army of 30,000 against the Bruces, which did nothing; not, however, till April (Fragment, p. 301).
- 182 thre yheir. Spring, 1315, to October, 1318.

185 trappit horse. See note on Bk. XI. 130.

187 quhen lest wes he. "He was always at the very least one to five."

- 262 forrouth Devillyn. The Scots and the Ulster men were at Swords, eight miles north of Dublin (Hist. and Municip. Docts., p. 451); at Castleknock in the immediate neighbourhood on the west (St. Mary's Annals, p. 282; Fragment, 299), on the eve of St. Matthew's Day, February 23, 1317 (Fragment). They moved to a position in the vicinity, where they stayed for four days, burned a part of the town, and spoiled the churches (ibid.).
- 265 Lunyk. Correctly Limerick, which is not, however, the "southmast toune" in Ireland. The Scots came to Limerick, but were defeated at Castle Connell (Annals.

p. 353).

293 Northwarde agane. On May 1, 1317, Bruce took the road to Ulster (Fragment, p. 302).

295 Conage. Connaught; Myth, Meath; Irell, i.e., Uriel or Oriel=Louth, Armagh and Monaghan; Munser, Munster; Lainenser, Leinster. Limerick is, of course, in Munster, which should come first.

301 The kyngis. See note on Bk. XIV. 102.

336 hawch of Lyntoun-le. A "haugh" is low-lying level ground, generally beside water, river, or sea. "Lentalee, in the forest of Jedworth" (Jedburgh), as Gray has it, is about two miles south of that town. Gray groups this incident, as Barbour does, with the Scaithmoor and Berwick fights. but in a different position (see note on Bk. XV. 435; and Scala., p. 143). "Lentelee" in Stevenson (Illustrations, p. 3). "Near Jeddeworth" is the location of the "foray" in Bain (iii., No. 576).

337 a fayr maner. The anonymous chronicler in Stevenson says that Douglas was passing the time (moram traxit) in Notes 46I

a sort of fortification (municioni quadam) with 200 men (Illustrations, p. 3).

339 gert purvay him richt weill. The English found "much victuals" in the place (Stevenson, p. 3).

342 wonnand then. The date of the fight is about April 23, 1317

(Stevenson, p. 3). 343 Schir Thomas. Sir Thomas Richmond was not an earl, but a Yorkshire knight, owner of Burton-Constable, and a well-known figure on the Border (Bain, iii., p. xxv, No. 178). The "Earl" in command was the Earl of Arundel, appointed guardian of the district between the Trent and Roxburgh on February 2, 1317 (Rotuli Scotiæ, i. 169; Illustrations, p. 3). "Sir Edmund, Earl of Arundel, warden of the March " (Bain, iii., No. 576).

352 War passit than of the cuntre. That is, King Robert and many with him were in Ireland. So, too, in Stevenson. "The leaders of the Scots being then engaged in war in Ireland, and Scotland being almost destitute of men"

(Illustrations, p. 3).

354-55 the cuntre was Febill of men. Cf. previous note.

357 of the marchis. But cf. note on 343.

360 ten thousand men. In Stevenson's chronicler "thirty thousand men" (Illust., p. 3). Officially it was called "a foray" (Bain, iii., No. 576). The English exaggeration is worse than Barbour's.

363 Till hewe doune Jedward forest. Since the time of the Romans and the disastrous march of Septimius Severus (third century) the forests of Scotland had been recognized as the natural defences of the country. They are, for the most part, the "strengths" which figure so prominently in Barbour." See on Jedward, Bk. VIII. 427.

375 And of archeris a gret menyhe. Cf. note on 377.

380 The entre. As in the wood of the King's Park (Bk. XI. 446). 383 a penny-stane cast. A "penny-stane" was a flat stone used

as a quoit, hence "as wide only as the throw of a quoit."

384 Douglas thiddir yheid. "Douglas abandoned his position and retired" (Illustrations, p. 3).

406 on thame schot thai. In Stevenson this, the main attack, follows the surprise at Lintalee (p. 4).

418 reft the liff. Richmond was slain (Scala., p. 143; Stevenson, p. 4).

419 Ane hat. Hailes notes that "In Histoire de Bretagne par Lobineau, t. i., p. 665, there is a portrait of Arthur de Richemont, Duke of Brittany, with a furred hat, such as is described by Barbour" (Annals, ii., p. 82 note). Richmond was identified by the hat on the word of a prisoner.

See lines 480-5.

See lines 480-5.

Clerk Called Helias " (Stevenson, p. 3).

Clerk Elys. "A clerk called Helias" (Stevenson, p. 3). 441 ane clerk, Elys.

this Bk. V. 205 note).

- 442 thre hundreth enymys. "With thirty comrades" (Stevenson,
- 444 herbery had tane. Ellis and his companions occupied Douglas's house, and took their fill (se saciavit) of the victuals there (Stevenson, ibid.).
- 450-1 with suerdis . . . Thai servit thame. They despatched them with the sword (reliquos gladio jugulavit. Stevenson, p. 4). The head of Ellis was cut off, and placed in a humiliating position beside the body (*ibid.*).

458 "That addition to the repast was overmuch."

472 Till wend hamward. "The said Earl (Arundel) retreated southwards without doing more" (Scala., p. 143). 504 forrouth. Before, in Bk. IX. 570-630.

509 Schir Johne de Sowlis. Cf. Bk. XIV. 25, and note.

- 512-4 With fifty men, etc. I.e., Soulis had the fifty, Harcla the three hundred.
- 518 Schir Androu . . . has tane. Harcla was a prisoner with the Scots at some date in November, 1316, when he asks the King of England for help towards his ransom (Bain, iii. 514, 515, 697). He was ransomed with difficulty (*Scala.*, p. 149). He was executed in 1323 for treasonable dealings with the Scots.
- 549 besyde Enverkethyne. Inverkeithing, Fife. Near Donibristle, says Fordun's continuator, showing that here he follows another source than Barbour (Scotic., Bk. xii., chap. xxv.).
- 552 The Erll of Fiff. Duncan de Fife, the young Earl, with his mother and step-father joined the Scots some little time before August 2, 1317, when his mother had her English manor forfeited (Bain, iii., No. 566). He came with a troop of five hundred armed men (Scotic., as cited).
- 577 Willyhame Syncler. William St. Clair was the brother of Sir Henry St. Clair of Roslin. He had been a canon of Dunkeld, and was elected Bishop in 1312 (Dowden in Scot. Hist. Rev., vol. i., pp. 316-17). On his return from Rome Edward II. tried to keep him in England (Bain, iii. 301). In the Wallace he figures as a Bishop already, and a friend of the patriot (vii. 932; viii. 1225). He was among the four bishops specially summoned to Rome to answer for their support of Bruce in defiance of the Church.
- 592-3 aucht weill to ma Of yhow. "Should think highly of you!" 596 The gilt spurs. The sign of knighthood; to hew them off was a ceremony of degradation (cf. line 598). So, too, in Scotic., as cited.

635 that yheit held unslayn. "That had held or kept themselves from being slain.'

676 the Scottis Se. The Firth of Forth. See on IX. 309.

## BOOK XVII.

13 Redis Swyr. The pass over Cheviot to the valley of the Rede, a tributary of the Tyne. By it went the road from Jedburgh, and in it is the site of the Battle of Otterburn,

1388. Swyr is A.S. swira or swera, the neck.

15 Outakin Berwik, it allane. "One town in Scotland was left to the King" (Vita Edw. Sec., p. 234). On September 20, 1317, and January 30, 1318, certain burgesses were going to England and France to purchase provisions "for the munition of the town" (Bain, iii., Nos. 575, 588). To save expense (Scala.), the defence of the town itself had been entrusted to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses (ibid., No. 593; Vita Edw., p. 234; Scala., p. 148). According to Stevenson's Chronicler, the citizens had begged to be entrusted with the defence because of their ill-treatment by the royal garrison, August 1, 1317 (p. 5).

17 That capitane was. Roger de Horslee, Keeper of the Castle (Bain, iii., No. 607). He had been appointed, August 19, 1317, to command the castle when the city was committed to the burgesses (Stevenson, p. 5; Rot. Scot., i., p. 175).

Cf. on 224.

19 tretit thame richt ill. On February 4, 1318, Edward appointed a commission of three to "inquire into the disputes arisen, or likely to arise, between the burgesses and the garrison of Berwick, to the danger of the town"

(Bain, iii., No. 589). Cf. note on 15.

23 a burges, Sim of Spaldyng. "Peter de Spalding" in Scala., p. 144; Lanerc., p. 234; Illustr., p. 5; Trokelowe, p. 103, etc. The Annales Paulini adds John Drory and other accomplices (p. 282). "Peter de Spalding" is on the roll of the garrison of Berwick in 1312 (Bain, iii., p. 399). He was an Englishman living in the town, and received a large sum of money in addition to the promise of lands (Lanercost, pp. 234-235). "A royal sergeant retained by the citizens in the defence of the town." Douglas, it was said, "corrupted" him with promises of £800 (Stevenson, p. 5). Spalding's request for his money was "obnoxious" to the Scots, and he was put to death on a trumped-up charge of treason (ibid.).

28 the marschall. Sir Robert Keith.

35 the Kow-yhet. Still the Cow-port (gate) in the middle of

the north side of the town.

45 Ane or othir suld wrethit be. I.e., "if he chose anyone to help him, somebody else was sure to be offended." Apparently he would have to choose between Moray and Douglas. Cf. lines 55-7.

- 64 Duns park. A favourite rendezvous in that neighbourhood for the Scots army. The "park" would be wooded. In June, 1315, Bruce was reported to be collecting an army in "the Park of Duns," either to invade England or to besiege Berwick (Bain, iii., No. 440).
- 67 Athir with ane quheyne of men. Bruce gets out of the dilemma by choosing both leaders, each to bring a small party of his men.
- 72 the day. April 2, 1318 (Lanerc., p. 234; Ann. Paul., p. 282). Circa March 25 (Illustrations, p. 5). Edward is preparing to retake Berwick on April 18, 1318 (Rot. Scot., i., p. 181).
- 94 the nycht. The Scots entered "about midnight after the Sabbath day" (Lanerc., p. 234). Edward, "much enraged," reports that the mayor and bailiffs "allowed the Scottish rebels to enter and take possession," "through carelessness," and orders goods belonging to the community of Berwick to be everywhere arrested; April 13, 15 (Bain, iii., Nos. 593, 594). 97 hald a staill. "Occupy a position." Cf. Bk. XV. 341.
- "For the goods." Singular form as plural; 105 till the gude. see Grammar. Cf. also twa part in 103 for two parts. 125 gat the castell. "Got to the castle."
- 128 in the bargane slane. Few were slain apart from those who resisted (Lanerc., p. 235; Stevenson, p. 5). According to Baker, in the capture of the town and castle no one was
- slain who was willing to submit (qui voluit obedire, p. 59).

  134 the baner. Apparently the Scots had assembled ("stuffit") round their banner in the "staill" (97).
- 150-1 Wilyhame . . . of Keth, and of the Gawlistoune. liam Keith of Galston, known by either surname, of Keith or of Galston (152). Galston was in Kyle, Ayrshire, and there were Keiths in it at least a hundred years after
- $(Reg.\ Mag.\ Sig.,$  p. 228; 17). ! that fell, etc. "All that would serve to provision the 176 all that fell, etc. town." C/. on 15.
- 185 the Mers and Tevidaill. The part of Berwickshire next the Border, "the March," and Teviotdale.
- 198 on the sext day. Gray says the castle held out for eleven weeks, and as his father was then in garrison at Norham, he is probably about right. The castle surrendered for lack of food (Scala., p. 144). The account in Stevenson's Chronicle also implies a siege longer than five days; for he speaks of King Robert assailing the castle with siegeengines, and failing, and of the Scots then settling down to starve out the garrison (Illust., p. 5). Horslee was at Newcastle with the garrison on July 20—that is, about sixteen weeks after the fall of the town-so that the surrender of the castle must have taken place somewhat earlier in the month. Horslee and his garrison had to be

supported by the town, and the account therefore would begin with their arrival (Bain, iii., No. 607). Cf. on line 226. 200 till thair cuntre syne went thai. Life and goods were granted them on surrender (Stevenson, p. 5). Cf. previous note.

203 soyn eftir. But, according to the account in Stevenson, King Robert assisted at the attack on the castle. See on 198.

"That he took in hand to hold Berwick." 222 At = that.

224 Bath the castell, and the dungeoune. In his former references Barbour has used the term "castle" to include both the tower or "donjon" or keep and the surrounding wall. apart from the wall of the town proper. The wall (or "wallis"), he says in 169, 170, was not then in a very defensible state. Here he goes back to an older and more technical usage before these two independent elementsdonjon and enclosure fortified with a wall-had quite coalesced. The evidence for this differentiation is given at length by Mr. Round in his Geoffrey de Mandeville, Appendix O. One of the citations is precisely parallel to Barbour's expressions here, the description of a grant of Dublin—town, castle, and donjon—in 1172 to Hugh de Lacy:

> "Li riche rei ad dunc baillé (has then entrusted) Dyvelin en garde, la cité E la chastel e le dongun, A Huge de Laci le barun."

These, then, are the three elements here: the town, which had its own wall; the "castle," strictly speaking, or walled enclosure; and the "donjon" within the latter.

226 Ryde in-till Inglande. The Lanercost writer places this raid in the month of May, and, it would seem, after the fall of the castle (see on line 198). The Scots on this occasion penetrated England farther than usual, reaching Ripon, Knaresborough, and Skipton, in Craven—i.e., covering a large part of Yorkshire (p. 235). The Gesta de Carn. also dates this raid in May, "soon after Easter," and says

the Scots went as far as Bolton Abbey (p. 55).
227 gret plente of fee. They brought back "a crowd of cattle past numbering" (Lanerc., p. 236). They searched the woods of Knaresborough for the cattle hidden there, and

got possession of them (p. 235).

228-9 sum cuntreis trewit he For vittale. I.e., "he made a truce with some districts in return for a supply of victual." The Scots spoiled Ripon, but refrained from burning the town on payment of 1,000 marks (Lanerc., p. 235).

236 But burges and but oblesteris. Skeat takes exception to "burgesses," but the town had previously been defended by the burgesses (cf. on 15), and some, no doubt, were willing "to obey" the Scots (cf. on 128). E reads

burdowys, which Jamieson supposed to mean "men who fought with clubs," while Skeat suggests that it is "burdouis for burdonis—i.e., mules!" Mules are a less probable part of the garrison than burgesses. "Oblesteris" are arblasters—i.e., crossbow-men, a minor but constant part of both English and Scottish armies of the time.

239 Johne Crab. A famous sea-rover of the east coast, as on the west was Thomas Dun (Bk. XIV. 376, note). In 1319 Edward was complaining to the Count of Flanders of his "outrages," and the Count answered (November 19) that "Crabbe" had been banished for murder, and that "he will punish him on the wheel if he catches him " (Bain. iii., No. 673). He was captured in 1332 near Roxburgh, and because the "ungrateful Scots" refused to ransom him he transferred his services to the English (Lanerc., p. 270), and for his assistance at the Siege of Berwick in 1333 was pardoned "all his homicides, felonies, etc., by sea or land " (Bain, iii., 1090). He therefore cannot be the "Cryn, a Fleming, an admiral of the sea, a robber," killed by Sir Thomas Gray in 1321-2, as is supposed by Sir Herbert Maxwell (Robert the Bruce, p. 267, note; The Scalacronica, trans., p. 63, note). Crab is on record till 1347 (Bain, No. 1504). But "Cryn" may be his nephew "John Crabbekyn" (Bain, iii., No. 417). The Scots slew his son (Lanerc., p. 270). A John Crab gets lands from Bruce in Aberdeen, which, with those in Berwick, are transferred to another in the reign of David II. (Robertson's Index, 15, 21, etc. . . . 32, 9), apparently on his going over to England. He is not, therefore, likely to be the John Crab, a burgess of Aberdeen in later times, and a member of Parliament (1365, 1367), as the editor of the Exchequer Rolls, II., postulates (p. lxxxii, note: Index).

245 engynis and trammys. "Siege-engines and structures of wood."

246 grec fyre. In all probability "Greek fire," as Skeat suggests; "t" and "c" are almost indistinguishable in the MSS. of the time. "Greek fire" was the mother of gunpowder; it was a liquid made of sulphur and saltpetre, with the addition of inflammable oils, and its purpose was to set woodwork on fire (cf. Oman's Art of War, pp. 546, 547). It was used at the Siege of Stirling in 1304 (Bain).

247 Spryngaldis and schotis. The springal (espringale) was a great crossbow on a frame, whose cord was drawn back by a winch; the "shots" were its bolts, or "long darts": springaldis, ad longa spicula emittenda (Lanercost, p. 231) at the siege of Carlisle in 1315.

250 gynis for crakkis. Contrivances for making explosions i.e., guns, which at first seem to have been valued for this quality.

271 ger dik thame. I.e., the English were to surround their own encampment at Berwick with a rampart for further security, and to keep off the Scots who might come to its relief.

278 thought all suth. "Thought quite rightly."

285 Of Lancister the Erll Thomas. Bain says that, though Lancaster was clearly summoned (Fædera, iii., p. 784), "Walsingham, who was not contemporary, seems the only authority for his presence, and if his men had been there they would have been found on the roll," where they are not given (iii., p. xxvi). But a letter from Hugh le Despenser, the younger, printed by Stevenson in his notes to the Chronicle of Lanercost, expressly names the Earl of Lancaster as having been present (p. 422). Despenser also was at Berwick, and his letter (Anglo-French) is dated September 21 at Newcastle. Strangest fact, Bain, who knew the Chron. de Lanerc., overlooked the mention of Lancaster having accompanied the King to Berwick on p. 239. In Vita Edw. Sec., too, Lancaster is among those at Berwick (pp. 241, 244). Also in Annal. Paul., p. 286; Illustrations, p. 56. Cf. notes below. Maxwell, too, cites Barbour only for Lancaster's presence (p. 265, note).

286 That syne wes sanctit. See note on 874.

295 all this menyhe. According to the pay-sheet, August 1 to September 24, 8,080 men, apart, however, from the following of Lancaster (cf. on 285 and 852) and the sailors (Bain, iii., No. 668). In Annal. Paul. 30,000 horse! (p. 286).

298 Ordanit ane felde. The "Magdalen Fields" surrounding the town. "The army was spread ont, on the land side, round the circuit of the town in (Vita Edw. Sec., p. 242).

306 all the havyn wes stoppit. "On the side of the sea the sailors present from the Cinque Ports (Quinque Portubus) so watched the entries and exits that no one could possibly get out" (Vita Edw., p. 242).

318-9 sib him ner, Or . . . his allye. "Either near relatives or those closely attached to him by some personal tie." "Allye," Fr. allie, is a trisyllable. It does not seem to signify, as Skeat suggests, allied "by various marriages," but only the latter part of the phrase, "relatives and personal friends."

335 our Ladeis evin. September 7, 1319. So Despenser, in his letter, says Edward came before Berwick on September 7, and "laid siege to the town, with all his host, by sea and by land" (par myer et par terre. Lanerc., p. 422). The English army entered Scotland on August 29 (Ann. Paul., p. 286).

343 coveryngis. Special protective dresses, such as the miner's "basket" of wicker for those breaching the wall.

- 344 howis...staff slyngis. The first were possibly picks on long poles, so resembling hoes, used for pulling down defences. The staff-sling consisted of a wooden shaft about a yard long, to one end of which was attached a sling. The slinger held it by the other end with both hands, and so could discharge a stone or bullet with great force.
- 359 ilk kyrneill. Each casement or open interval of the battlement. In the repairs of the castle in 1344 the portion of the wall renewed was to be 8 feet broad at "the kernels" (Bain, iii. No. 1434).
- (Bain, iii., No. 1434).
  380 Sa law. Edward I. had begun to surround Berwick with a stone wall, but Hugh de Cressingham, his Treasurer (1297), had not spent on it the money given for its completion (Hemingburgh, ii., p. 127).
- 409 the brighous. A barbican or outwork on which the drawbridge rested. In January, 1316, Bruce tried to enter Berwick inter brighous et castrum (Lanercost, p. 232).
- 421 scho ebbit. I.e., the tide ebbed, and she grounded. A ship grounding in a very low tide (neap) is still said to be "neaped."
- 500 he wald nocht sa soyne assale. The English chroniclers say he would not venture to fight with the army of their King (Lanerc., p. 239; Illust., p. 6). On September 9 Edward writes to the Chancellor that "he hears that Robert de Brus and his allies and supporters (fautours) are bound by oaths and hostages to relieve the garrison of Berwick on a fixed day, and will do everything they can" (Bain, iii., No. 664). He therefore summons to Berwick the whole array of York, but Bruce took his own way of relieving.
- 505 lordis iwa. As here, Moray and Douglas (Lanerc., p. 239; Gesta de Carn., p. 57).
- 508 xv. thousand. "A very great army" (Illustr., p. 6); "no small army" (Gesta de Carn., p. 57); "xx. thousand of the Scottis" (Capgrave, p. 184).
- 515 thair wiffis. In their previous raid (see on 226) the Scots took captive both men and women (Lanerc., p. 236).
- 528 it wes pite. "The Scots were raiding savagely in England"
  (Scotis in Anglia sæventibus.—Trokelowe, p. 103). "Clearing
  (depopulantes) Northumbria, the bishopric of Durham and
  Alvertonshire (York), they came as far as Burghbrig"
  (Illust., p. 66). "They burnt the country and took
  captives and booty of animals, advancing as far as
  Burghbrigge" (Lanercost, p. 239). "Burning and spoiling the country on all sides" (Gesta de Carn., p. 57).
  535 Burrow-brig. Boroughbridge, on the Ure, near its junction
- 535 Burrow-brig. Boroughbridge, on the Ure, near its junction with the Swale, Yorkshire; see previous note. According to Fordun, Moray was at "Boru-brig" at the end of the month of August (Gesta Annalia, cxxxiv.).
- 536 Mytoun thar-by. Myton is on the Swale, near its junction with the Ure, and so a little east of Boroughbridge.

541 Prestis, clerkis, monkis, and freris, etc. There were two abbots, monks, friars, many priests, with countrymen and townsfolk (Illustr., p. 7; Lanerc., p. 239; Scala., p. 148). 544 Weill twenty thousand. Ten thousand in Trokelowe, p. 103;

both numbers excessive.

546 The Archbischop of York. William de Melton (Gesta de Carn., p. 57; and Lanercost, Illustr., etc., as cited). He lost much furniture in the battle, including silver and brass plate (North. Reg., p. 295).

552 other byschoppis. Only the Bishop of Ely, then staying at

York (Illust., p. 7; Lanerc., p. 239).

559 in-till battellis twa. "The Scots gathered together, as their wont was, in a single schiltron" (Lanerc., p. 239). They

"divided" to take up the chase (ibid.).

573-4 sic abasing Tuk thame. The English accounts give it that their men had no proper leader nor skill in war, while the Scots were excellently equipped in both respects. The strangely assorted array advanced in no proper order of battle, so that the Scots said: "These are not soldiers, they are sportsmen; they won't be much good " (" Hi non bellatores sed venatores; non multum proficient."-Vita Edw., p. 244). The Scots then gave a great shout, and the English in terror turned and fled (Lanerc., p. 239).

583 weill ane thousand. All accounts agree that there was a considerable slaughter of the priestly and inexpert warriors, but the English estimates of the slain are much higher than Barbour's: more than a thousand, besides the drowned (Ann. Paul., p. 287); "2,000 slain with the sword" (Illustr., p. 7); 3,000 (Trokelowe, p. 103); 4,000 (Lanerc., p. 239); besides those drowned in the Swale, about a thousand, says the Lanercost writer (ibid.); "more than the sword slew" (Gesta de Carn., p. 58). There were also many captives, afterwards redeemed; cf. line 579 (ibid., Vita Edw., p. 244). A chantry chapel was afterwards erected for the souls of the slain, and endowed by their friends; to this end a piece of ground was asked from the King in October, 1325 (Bain, iii., No. 875).

597 Of gret gestis ane Sow. Probably, as Skeat hints, for "gestis"—i.e., joists, great beams, which is more likely than Fr. gestes, "deeds" to which it is hard to give, in this connection, a suitable meaning. The famous "Sow" is referred to in Lanercost (suem), p. 239. See below. It was otherwise known as the cat, and was constructed of stout beams, being strictly a penthouse or shelter for the men mining the wall. So here in line 600, and in the Lanercost account (ad murum suffodiendum, p. 239). But in the present case it is combined with the beffroi, or movable tower (lines 601-2), giving the "sow-castle" or "cat-castle" (cf. Oman's Art of War, pp. 548, 549).

Hailes and Skeat miss this point.

- A strong covering of hides, or, possibly, of 598 stalward heling. iron plates.
- 634 the Rude-evyn. The eve of the Exaltation of the Rood, September 13.
- 674 draw the cleket. Probably then "she" was a mangonel, in which a movable beam, between uprights, was pressed back by ropes, and then suddenly let go from a catch (" cleket "), discharges a stone; or a trebuchet, in which the same result was obtained by poising the beam in the middle, and loading the other end with a heavy weight, which added to the force of the missile.

689 set thar-to juntly. "Set close up to." Cf. line 704. In the Wallace, Stirling Bridge "off gud playne burd was weill and juntly maid" (vii. 1148).

690 bend in hy. Ct. on 674.

- 691 wappyt. The correct Scots form. C has swappit. Cf. Gest. Historiale, "wappid (knocked) to ground" (7297), and "A wap wi a corner-stane o' Wolf's Crag wad defy the doctor" (Scott's Bride of Lammermoor, Border edit., p. 349).
- 713 top-castellis. "Fighting-tops" on the mast, in addition to the structures rising fore and aft above the deck, "forecastle " and " stern-castle."

756 The barras. The "barriers," a fortified post at the outer

- end of the drawbridge. See Glossary.
  757 and brynt it doune. Skeat, in his rubric, explains that they "burnt the drawbridge"—a foolish thing to do if they wanted to cross the ditch! But what seems to have happened was this: the besiegers first seized the "barras," then brought "doune" the bridge by burning the tackle, probably of ropes and beams, by which it was drawn up against the gate, and so were able to cross, and make their attempt to burn their way through the gate itself. So, too, they could retreat (790) over the fallen bridge. Ct. in Morte Arthure:
  - "Brittenes (destroys) theire barrers with theire bryghte wapyns,

Bett down a barbycan, and the brygge wynnys." (2469-2470).

- 828 on the morne. I.e., of September 14, seven days after the first attack. Despenser says that the news from England came "before he had been at Berwick (demorce) eight days" (as cited), practically corroborating Barbour.
- 829 Thar come tithandis. So in Despenser's letter; in Lanercost (p. 239); Gesta de Carn. (p. 58).
- 842 His consell fast discordit then. The Lanercost writer says the King wished to send a part of his army into England to deal with the Scots, and keep on the siege with the remainder; but the nobles were unwilling to divide their

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army and not fight with the returning Scots, and so the whole army started south for this purpose (p. 239).

852 Loncastell. Despenser attributes the raising of the siege to the "procurement" of Lancaster (Lanerc., p. 422). Stevenson's chronicler says the siege would have been successful "had not disturbers of the peace sown discord between the King and the Earl of Lancaster" (Illust., p. 6). As is here suggested, the friction had been going on for some time according to the author of the Gesta, who explains in detail how the mischief-making was done (p. 57). In the Vita Edw. Sec. various accounts are collected regarding Lancaster's action, including the "vulgar" story that he had been bribed by Bruce, and there is a discourse of several pages on treason and avarice (p. 244 et seq.).

855 he. Here is the King; in 858 he is Lancaster. The King was inclined to side with the Southerners, whose homes, of course, were in no danger from the Scots. Cf. previous

note.

862 his way he tais. According to the Vita Edw., the King went one way to meet the retreating Scots, Lancaster another (as cited).

864 fell eftir sic debat. In 1321 Lancaster and his supporters took up arms against the King and his advisers, the Despensers, on account of misgovernment. Each party blamed the other for the misfortunes of the Scottish war. In March of the following year the Lancastrians were defeated at Boroughbridge by Sir Andrew de Harclay, himself afterwards executed for alleged treasonable dealings with the Scots. Lancaster was captured, and beheaded at Pomfret (cf. line 868).

869 on the hill besyde the toune. "On a certain little hill"

(monticulo) beside Pomfret (Lanerc., p. 244).

871 syne drawin and hangit. Though this was in the sentence, it was, by special favour of the King, not carried out. Lancaster, being a relative, was simply beheaded. In any case the drawing and hanging would have come before the beheading. See on IV. 322.

872 a fair menyhe. Many others suffered capital punishment for their share in this rising. The Lanercost writer gives one baron and three knights as having been drawn and hanged in Ponifret at this time, with further details of other victims (p. 245). Cf. also Baker, pp. 65, 66. The names of five hanged on the same day at Pomfret are given in Annal. Paul., p. 303.

874 martir was, Wes sanctit and myraclis did. Lancaster was popularly regarded as a saint, a martyr for righteous government; he having been also a liberal man to the Church and the poor. There were, of course, doubters of his sanctity (Vita Edw. Sec.: contin., p. 290). A chapel

was erected on the hill on which he was beheaded; crowds of pilgrims flocked to it, and miracles were said to be worked by God through him (Lanerc., pp. 244-5; Fædera, iv., p. 421). There was a special service for him—an "Office of St. Thomas of Lancaster," printed in Wright's Political Songs (pp. 268-272). Edward III., whose accession was the triumph of the opposition to his father, requested the Pope to give Thomas regular canonization (Fædera, iv., p. 421). Capgrave says he was canonized in 1389, when all concerned in his execution were dead (p. 253).

889 that tuk westward the way. The Scots in England retired about September 14, going westwards (versus occidentent tendentes) by Airedale and Wharfdale, and so home by "Gratsehals" (Gesta Edw. Carn., p. 58). When they heard the siege was raised they returned to Scotland by Staynmore and Gillesland and "those western parts"

(Lanerc. p. 240). Ct. also Illustrations, p. 7.

891 With prayis, and with presoneris. "With prisoners and plunder of cattle" (Lanerc., p. 240). Also Gesta Edw., p. 58; Vita Edw., p. 244. Prayis is a plural signifying different kinds of "prey."

different kinds of "prey."

922-3 brynt had The brig. Cf. on 757.

940 Berwyh his toune. As the reading from E shows, this is a possessive of a type usually confined to proper names.

7946 Till help his brothir. Wrong by a year. The siege of Berwick was in September, 1319; Edward Bruce was killed in the previous year. The succours here sent were dispatched in September or October, 1318. See on Bk. XVIII. 3, 110.

### BOOK XVIII.

3 A day forrouth thair arivyng. So, too, Gray declares thut Edward Bruce "from over-boldness (pur surquidery) was not willing to wait his reinforcements (soun poair) which had lately arrived, and were within six leagues (miles) of him " (Scala., p. 143)-i.e., within a day's march. Gray, it will be observed, applies the same quality to Edward Bruce as Barbour does in line 183. The same explanation occurs in the Annals of Clonmacnoise (pp. 281, 282). The Lanercost chronicler, on the contrary, says that the "great army" which had "newly come" from Scotland to his assistance had joined Edward before his advance to Dundalk (p. 238).

8-9 two thousand, Outane the Kyngis of Erischry. The Annals of Ireland give the Scots 3,000 (p. 359), so that Barbour is

probably about right. The chronicler in Stevenson's Illustrations makes the Scots 30,000 (p. 3)! The "Irish Kings" here include MacRory, "King" of the Hebrides ("Insi-Gall"), and MacDonald, "King" of Argyll, who were both slain (Annals of Ulster, ii., p. 433; Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 281. Cf. note on line 443).

12 Richard of Clare. Barbour is misinformed; Richard de Clare was killed five months before, May II (Annals of Ulster, ii., pp. 433 and 432, note 5; Annals of Ireland, p. 35). The English were commanded by Sir John de Birmingham (Annals of Ireland, p. 359; Baker, p. 58).

17 tuenty thousand. Such a number of horse is obviously absurd, as is also the total of "forty thousand" below.

33 Men sayis. Cf. on 3: "My brothir" is Walter, the High

Steward.

75 nane of us. Not true of the Scots-Irish. Cf. note on 8-9.

89 fourty thousand neir. Cf. line 93, and note on 17. The Lanercost chronicler says the English were but "a few country-folk" (paucis et popularibus; p. 238), probably an exaggeration the other way.

95 cot-armour. The surcoat over his armour, bearing his coat-

of-arms.

The battle took place near the hill of 101 till assemmyll. Faughard or Fagher, about two miles from Dundalk. The spot where Edward Bruce fell is still shown by the natives. The date is given by Hailes, Bain, and others, following the version of the Annals in Camden's Chronicle as October 5; but in the later edition of the Annals and in the Annals of Ulster and of Clonmacnoise it is precisely fixed as Saturday, October 14, 1318, from which the Lanercost chronicler differs by a day only, October 13 (Lanercost, p. 238; Annals of Ulster, p. 433; Annals of Ireland, p. 359; Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 281); Fordun also October 14 (Skene, i., p. 348).

104 ruschit with thair fais. In the Lanercost Chronicle it is explained that the Scots were in three battles too far apart, and that thus each as it attacked was disposed of before the next could come to its assistance. Edward was with

the third battle (p. 238).

110 Johne de Sowlis als. But John de Soules appears to have been dead circa 1316, when the husband of his "daughter and heir" petitioned Edward II. for his Scottish lands (Bain, iii., No. 530). The date, however, is doubtful.

113 That few . . . war slayne. According to the Vita Edw. Sec.,

five hundred stout men-at-arms (valentes armati) were slain, besides Edward Bruce (p. 238); almost all were slain, says Lanercost, except those only who escaped by flight (p. 238); not a single one escaped, declares Knighton (i., p. 412), but this is absurd. Two thousand, almost all the Scots, were slain, but a few got away (Annals of Ireland, p. 360). Only a few escaped out of thirty thousand (Stevenson, Illustrations, p. 3).

- 117 Johne Tomassun. No doubt the same John Thomson (Johannes videlicet Thomas), a stout commoner (valens vernaclus), who in 1333 was holding out in the "peel" of Lochdoon against Edward III. (Scotichr., lib. xiii., chap. xxviii.).
- 123 Johne cummyn. Skeat prints the verb with a capital, as if "cummyn" was a personal name. Obviously "Johne" is Thomson.

125 Schir Philipe the Mowbray. The defender of Stirling Castle before Bannockburn: mortally wounded (Annals of Ir., p. 360).

167 strak his hed of. The Lanercost writer says Edward Bruce was beheaded after death, and his body divided into four parts, which were sent to the four chief towns of Ireland (p. 238). According to Barbour, it was Gilbert Harper's head. For the beheading, see also Trokelowe, p. 103, and Stevenson's Illustrations, p. 3.

183 owtrageous succudry. Cf. extract from Scalacronica in note on 3.

215 Richard of Clare. But see note on 12.

224 Johne Mawpas. According to the Annals, John Mawpas slew Edward Bruce, and was himself found dead over his body. John de Birmyngham brought the head to Edward III. (p. 360). Probably he thus earned the reward offered for injury to Edward in life or limb, on September 3, 1316 (Patent Rolls, p. 551).

225 Quhilk. Koeppel points out that this is the only example of this word otherwise than in the form the quhilk that, and therefore suggests that E gives the original reading

(Englische Studien, x. 381).

230 tuk purpos. 1322. Barbour passes over four years, and says nothing of a destructive raid of the Scots on the West March in June-July of this year, in which they went as far south as Preston (Lanercost, p. 246; Knighton, i., p. 428; Bain, iii., No. 761; Fædera, iii., p. 960).

235 richt gret hoost. "A very great army" (Lanercost, 247).

"With a very large army . . . having an armed footsoldier from each town in England, besides his knights and
esquires" (Scala., p. 149. So also Gesta Edwardi de
Carnarvon, p. 78; Knighton, i. 428; Baker, p. 66).
249 with-draw all the catele. "The Scots fled with all their

249 with-draw all the catele. "The Scots fled with all their possessions, at their approach (a facie eorum), to safe places; stripped their own land wholly bare, and cleared the districts of all the goods" (Trokelowe, p. 125). "The Scots, having cleared away or conveyed with them beyond the Scottish Sea (the Forth) everything that could be easily carried, left for the English a land bare of victuals" (Baker, p. 66). Edward told the Archbishop of

Canterbury that he found neither "man nor beast"

(Bain, iii., No. 778). So also in Knighton, i., p. 428.
253 with his hoost als still he lay. "The Scots, in their usual fashion, withdrew, and did not dare to fight with him " (Lanercost, p. 247). The English traversed the country, meeting with no resistance (Baker, p. 66).

254 At Culros. In Fife, on the Forth, opposite Boness (cf. note

on 249).

261 in Lowdiane. Edward was at Gosford, in Haddingtonshire, on August 5 (Bain, iii., No. 761). He had taken the coast-

road in order to do more damage (ibid., 778).

262 till Edinburgh. Scala., p. 149; Fordun; Skene, i., p. 349. There is a record of a grant by Edward at Edinburgh on August 22, and of payments made at Leith on August 23, so that he may have been there longer than three days; cf. above on 261 (Bain, iii., Nos. 764, 765). On August 17, however, a pardon is dated from Lauder (ibid., 763).

264 Thair schippes. At some date in August, probably later than above, for the King, it would appear, had left, a cargo of medicine came by sea to Edinburgh (Leith) from Newcastle (ibid., 766). Fordun speaks of a vast multitude of ships (copiosa multitudine: Fordun, i. 349).

268 Thair vittale. "Having used up the food on land, and that

by sea everywhere failing them" (Trokelowe, p. 125). 276 Tranentis corne. Tranent is between Musselburgh and Haddington.

In Bower, "That this beef was too dear," 283 derrest beiff. Warenne punning in the Latin, Quod illius tauri caro erat

nimis cara (Scotichr., ii., p. 278).

289-290 of fasting had gret payne, etc. "A very great part of the army was wasted with hunger, and a great number perished from want of food," and so they returned (Trokelowe, p. 125). The Lanercost writer speaks of lack of victuals, and illness, dysentery, among the soldiers, from both of which many died (p. 247). Scalacronica concurs (p. 149), also Fordun (Shene, i. 349). The English were thus forced to retreat (ibid.). Knighton puts the English losses at about fifteen thousand (i., p. 428); 30,000 (!) from starvation (Flores Hist., iii., p. 210).

291 In-till Melros. "The King's hobelers (light horse) foraging at Melrose were defeated by James Douglas' (Scala., p. 149). Ct. lines 292-3. Knighton says the English came to Melrose, when, most unexpectedly, the Scots rushed on them from the mountains, and slew three hundred and more (i., p. 428). According to Fordun, the English slew and wounded several of the monks, and committed other sacrilege (Gesta Annal.; Skene, i.,

pp. 349, 350).
339 by Driburgh. They burned the monastery to the ground

(Fordun, ibid.)

341 till Ingland. Edward is at Fenham, on the coast of Northumberland, by September 4, or thereabout (Bain, iii., No. 767).

346 our the Scottis Se. Cf. note on 249.

349 Auchty thousand. Certainly an exaggerated number. Each "battle," as almost invariably with Barbour (cf. note on Bk. XI.), represents ten thousand men. Bruce had, however, a considerable force (exercitu non modico; Gesta Edw. de Carn., p. 79), having, according to Gray, assembled the whole power of Scotland, of the Isles, and of the Highlands (dez autres pays hautz; Scala., p. 149). Exactly parallel is the statement in Lanercost, p. 247.

352 on to Ingland. By the Solway on October 1, 1322 (Lanercost,

p. 247; Gesta Ann., p. 350).

355 to Byland. Byland is in the North Riding of Yorkshire, near Helmsley, on the right bank of the Rye. In Gesta Edw. "Bella-landa" (p. 79). The affair at Byland was on October 21 (note in Stevenson from Cotton MS., c. 1325,

p. 55); October 14 (Flores Hist., iii., p. 210). 356-7 wes liand The King of Ingland, etc. So placed, too, in Gesta Edw. de Carn.: the King "in monasterio de Bellalanda," and the army on a high mountain above the monastery (p. 79); by Fordun (Skene, i. 350); and by Higden (Polychron., viii., p. 316). Trokelowe, too, suggests the same, saying the Scots followed the King as far as Byland Abbey, in the district of "Rye Valley" (Realis Vallis, p. 125). The escape was "near Byland, close to the Abbey of Rievaulx," when the King was crossing over (Flores Hist., iii., p. 210). But the Lanercost chronicler locates the King in Rievaulx Abbey (Rievaulx = Realis Vallis), on the opposite bank of the Rye (p. 247); and an order from Edward to the Earl of Pembroke "to raise the country towards Byland" is dated from Rievaulx, October 13 (Bain, iii., No. 790). In Stevenson's Chronicle, too, the King is at Rievaulx, while Pembroke (Valence) and Richmond and other lords are at "Beghland" (İllustrations, p. 7).

365 Ane craggy bra. Cf. preceding note. "A strength (un forteresce) on a hill near Biland" (p. 149). "A certain mountain between the Abbey of Biland and the Abbey of

Rievaulx" (Lanercost, p. 247).
366 a gret peth. "A certain path (viam) on the mountain, narrow and confined" (arctam et strictam; Lanercost, p. 247). "A very narrow road where scarce ten could go abreast" (vix 10 in fronte meabile. Stevenson's Illustrations, p. 7).

373-4 Went to the path, etc. The Earl of Richmond, John of Brittany, was sent with his followers to examine the Scottish army "from a certain mountain, etc." (cf. on

365. Lanercost, ibid.),

409 Thomas Ouchtre(d). "Arthyn," as in C., is not known, and is clearly wrong, for Sir Thomas Ughtred, or Ouchtred, was captured here, as Barbour says in line 426 (Bain, iii., No. 806).

419 Stanis apon thame. "He (Richmond) strove with them by throwing down stones" (per lapides projectos. Lanercost, p. 247).

427 he wes tane. Cf. on line 409.

443 all the Erischry. I.e., the Highlanders and Islesmen, who spoke Gaelic or Irish. Ct. on line 349.

454 aboun the bra. The Scots ascended above them (super eos.

Lanercost, ibid.).
458 the hycht has tane. "The Scots ascended between the trees through the middle of the grove" (Gesta Edw., p. 79). The fight took place "on the summit of a hill near Byland '' (ibid., p. 82).

462-4 Johne Bretane, etc. Cf. on line 373.

469 thar wes tane. John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, a prisoner in Scotland, October 27 (Bain, iii., Nos. 792, 793). Still detained in Scotland, December 10 (ibid., No. 795).

Captured at Byland (Stevenson, Illustrations, p. 7).
472 lord of Souly. Henry, Lord of Sully, a prisoner (Bain, No. 796): "the lord of Sully, a baron of France" (Scala., p. 149): "the lord of Sully (Siliaco), an ambassador of the

King of France " (Baker, p. 66).
478 yheit at Biland. But of. note on 356-7.
480 in full gret hy. "The King himself scarcely escaped from Rivaulx " (Scala., p. 149). "The King fled swiftly from Biland" (Gesta Edw., p. 79; cf. also Lanercost, p. 248; Baker, p. 66). "To Scarborough Castle" (Stevenson,

Illustrations, p. 7).
489 Till Yorkis yhettis. The Scots made their way to York

(Scala., p. 150; Lanercost, p. 248; Gesta, p. 81).

493 nane wald cum out. The English were quite demoralized. They had fled like "a hare before the hounds" (Scala., p. 150). "The people were collapsing (corruentem) before the enemy like sheep without a shepherd" (Gesta, p. 81).

498 Rivens. Rievaulx; see above.

500 The King of Inglandis ger. A note in Bain describes the harness lost at "Ryvaux" by the sudden attack of the Scots there on October 14 (iii., No. 791). According to Lanercost, the King in his hurry left in Rievaulx Monastery his silver plate and great treasure, all which the Scots carried off, spoiling the monastery besides (p. 248). The royal treasure taken at Byland (Higden, viii., p. 316).

520 Lang eftir. In October, 1323, and May, 1324, negotiations for Richmond's release were still in progress (Bain, iii.,

No. 829; Pat. Rolls).

543 but ransoun free. This seems to have been the transaction which resulted in the "Emerald" charter of the Douglases, giving them extraordinary powers of jurisdiction within their territories. The grant was in lieu of 4,400 merks sterling, the ransoms of three (not two) French knights and their valets captured by Douglas at Byland, and liberated at the instance of the King of France, "our very dear friend " (Fraser's Douglas, Bk. iii., p. 11).

553 Byrnand, slayand, and distroyand. From all accounts the Scots did terrible mischief. "They did damage at their pleasure, with no one to oppose them" (Scala., p. 150). They spoiled and burned the neighbouring districts, carried off the cattle, and wasted on all sides with fire and sword (Gesta Edw., p. 80; Trokelowe, p. 126; Northern Registers, p. 318). 555 to the Wald. The Yorkshire Wold (Scala., p. 150). "Le

Wald. The Yorkshife word (Sama, p. 130).

Wald" (Lanercost, p. 248; Stevenson's Illustrations, p. 7).

The vale . . . of Beauware. The valley of the river Hull in which is Beverley. "They destroyed that country to about the town of Beverley, which purchased immunity and the statement of the sta from being burned" (Lanercost, p. 248). Murimuth and Baker say it cost Beverley four hundred pounds sterling (Baker, p. 66).

561 Till Scotland. They returned on October 22 (Gesta, p. 80). In Lanercost, November 2 is given as the date (p. 248). It may be inferred, from a reference in Bain to the Earl of Richmond as "a prisoner in Scotland" on October 27,

that the Scots had got home by that date.

# BOOK XIX.

6 a fell conjuracione. Barbour post-dates this conspiracy. It took place in 1320.

II The lord of Sowlis. Probably the grandson of Sir Nicholas Soulis, one of the competitors in 1292. Sir Nicholas claimed through his mother, a niece of Alexander III. (Bain, ii., liv). His forfeited lands in Liddesdale were given to Bruce's illegitimate son Robert (Robertson's Index, p. 12; 54, etc.); others to Robert Stewart, son of Walter (ibid., 10; 13).

16 Male-herbe. As in E, is the correct form; or Malerb (Fordun), Malherbe (Scala.) and on record in Bain, and in Robertson, where the Stirlingshire lands forfeited by "Gilbert de Malherbe" are gifted to another (Index, 21; 19). The land of "Malerbe" was in Perthshire (Reg. Mag. Sig., pp. 30, 61). The other names occur in these sources also, as in Barbour.

19 David the Brechyne. Cf. on Bk. VIII. 402; IX. 293. Some of the forfeited lands of Brechin, such as Rothmay, Brechine, Kinloch, etc., were granted to Sir David de Barclay (Robertson, pp. 26, 34).

23 Throu ane lady. The lady in the affair was Countess of Strathearn (Gesta Annal., cxxxv.). But Gray (Scala., p. 144) gives a different discoverer, Murdoch of Menteith, who was in the English service as late, at least, as January, 1317 (Bain, iii. 534). The Countess could not have turned King's evidence, as she was condemned to imprisonment for life (Fordun. Ibid.). In an extract from the Cotton MS. in Stevenson, Menteith is again given as the discoverer (Illust., p. 55).

45 playn granting. Soulis made a full confession (Scala., p. 144).

49 plane parliament. At Scone, August, 1320 (Fordun; Shene, i. 348; Scala., p. 144). It was known as the Black Parliament.

51 Till his penance till Dumbertane. "Confined in Dumbarton Castle for punishment in prison" (a sa penaunz en prisoun.
—Scala., p. 144); "for life" (Fordun; Shene, i. 348). Gray says that Dumbarton was the only castle in Scotland not now dismantled (ibid.).

56 thai drawin war. As in Fordun: "first drawn with horses and finally executed" (Shene, i. 348). Gray says Brechin, Logy, and Maleherbe were hanged and drawn in Perth.

Fordun adds Richard Brown, a squire.

74 Scottis man. Umfraville was a prisoner since Bannockburn. At this date (1320) he was still in Scotland, though on July 24, 1314, Edward was granting safe-conducts to some of his friends for a journey to France in quest of money for his ransom (Bain, iii., No. 374). On April 20, 1320, there is a safe-conduct for Sir Ingelram de Umfraville, "a Scottish knight passing through England on his affairs beyond seas," with a considerable following, which was cancelled for one in October (ibid., 694). Meantime his name is on the record of the Arbroath Parliament in April, 1320 (see below). On January 26, 1321, he is being restored to his estates, "as Ingelram, who was a prisoner in Scotland, has escaped, and shown that he never left his allegiance" (ibid., 721). These facts have been held to invalidate Barbour's statement (Maxwell's Robert the Bruce, pp. 276-7), but they have obviously a suspicious air. He appears to have somewhat prolonged his escape; there was clearly a doubt as to his loyalty; and the date fits in curiously with the narrative. Finally, it has to be explained how Umfraville's name appears in the list of signatories to the famous letter to the Pope from the barons and Community of Scotland on April 6, 1320: "While there exist a hundred of us we will never submit to England" (Acts Parl. Scot., i., p. 114).

125 the Kyngis curtasy. Cf. note on Bh. XIII. 531.

131 oftsis. There had been frequent negotiations for peace since immediately after Bannockburn (cf. Fædera iii., p. 495).

- 186 war trewis tane. The truce was arranged at Thorpe, near York, to last for thirteen years (see line 188) from June 12,
- 191-6 Bot Inglis men apon the se Distroyit, etc. Of such cases, probably those referred to here, we have precise details in Bain's Calendar, vol. iii. On September 7, 1326, an inquiry is ordered by Edward II. into the case of certain Scottish merchants who, on their way to Flanders, took refuge in an English ship from fear of pirates, and were brought to Scarborough, where they were all arrested by the Sheriff of York and the magistrates of Scarborough, and put in prison (No. 887). On September 28 three justices are commissioned to inquire into the seizure of a Flemish vessel at Whitby, when nine Scottish merchants, sixteen Scottish pilgrims, and thirteen women were murdered (lines 195, 234), and the cargo and goods to the value of £2,000 carried off (line 196); the vessel being cast adrift, and afterwards captured by others, when the rest of the cargo was appropriated. Apparently this inquiry was fruitless, for another is ordered at Yarmouth on October 15 (No. 889). Then, on October 12, there was the case of a Scottish clerk arrested on the high seas, brought with his two servants and goods to Scarborough, and imprisoned by the Sheriff of York, to be discharged later by the King's order (No. 889). And Adam Rolok and other Scots had been taken from a ship touching at Brunham and lodged in Norwich prison, from which they were not released till September 24, 1328 (No. 965). Neglecting Barbour's full explanation, confirmed as it is by Bain's Calendar, historians profess to find the origins of this campaign obscure. or lay all the blame upon the Scots (Hume Brown, History, i., p. 166; Lang, History i. 232; Le Bel, Chronique, ed. 1904, i., p. 37, editorial note).

205 Walter Steward. Died April 9, 1326.

230-1 twa yheir . . . and ane half. Nearly four years after; cf. note on 188.

238 gaf the trewis up. Le Bel, the Flemish chronicler, says he "defied" Edward about Easter because he saw Edward II. deposed, his Government upset, and that the new King was but a boy; and therefore hoped to conquer a part of England (Les Vrayes Chroniques, i., p. 34, edit. 1863; Froissart, trans. Johnes, i. 15).

Froissart, trans. Johnes, i. 15.

241 Donald Erll of Mar. Cf. note on Bh. XIII. 687. He had been brought up at the Court of Edward II., and had served for him against the Scots, but, on his deposition, returned to his native land. The Scots readily received him and restored him to his earldom (Gesta Edw. Tertii, p. 96; Bain, iii. 744; Scala., p. 151). He hoped to get Scottish aid in restoring Edward II. (Chron. de Lanercost, p. 259). The leaders of this expedition are given as in Barbour in

Scalacronica, Chron. de Lanercost, and Gesta Edwardi Tertii, with the exception of the Steward, who is not mentioned. Le Bel, who was present with the troops of John of Hainault, names only Moray and Douglas, whom he erroneously styles William, here as elsewhere (i., p. 48).

249 In England. June 15; and a second raid to Weardale in August (Fordun. Skene, i. 351-2). Before July 20 (Lanercost, p. 259). By the West March, says Hailes, citing Froissart (i.e., le Bel), but this is certainly not clear. No one seems to have known how they came: "They had passed the river (? Tyne, Eden) so quietly that neither they of Carlisle nor they of Newcastle knew anything of it" (Le Bel, i., p. 46, edit. 1863).

250 ten thousand. Le Bel says there were three thousand men-at-arms, knights, and squires, and about twenty thousand variously armed upon little hackneys (p. 48). These numbers are clearly in excess. It is from Jehan le Bel in this connection that Froissart has taken his famous and familiar

description of a Scots Border raid (Johnes, ch. xvii.).

254 Wardill. Weardale, in Durham (Fordun, Gesta Annalia, cxl.).

256 The King wes ded. Edward II. was in ward since January 7, but did not die till September 21.

257 that wes yhing. Edward III. was fifteen. 261 Isabel. Daughter of Philip IV. of France.

262 wes weddid. Not till January 28, 1328, to the second daughter (Philippa) of Count or Earl William of Holland and Hain-

ault. Barbour, of course, writes about fifty years after.

267 Schir Johne of Hennaul. John of Hainault, lord of Beaumont, brother of the Count, then "in the flower of his age"
(Le Bel, i., p. 12). He came at Edward's request, and brought five hundred well-mounted men-at-arms from Hainault, Flanders, Bohemia, Cambresis, and Artois; later he was joined by fifty more (Le Bel, i. 36, 37). Jehan le Bel and his brother were in the company.

271 In-to York. The English army assembled at York, and there awaited the arrival of the Hainaulters (Le Bel, p. 36); or of the chief lords (Gesta Edw., p. 96). There was a wait at York of more than six weeks until news should come about the Scots (Le Bel, p. 45). The English preparations seem to have anticipated the Scottish raid, though Barbour

puts it otherwise.

275 neîr fifty thousand. According to Le Bel, it was said the English had seven thousand knights and squires, thirty thousand armed men, half of whom were mounted on little hackneys, and twenty-four thousand archers on foot—sixty-one thousand men (i., p. 49). The English were three times the number of the Scots (Murimuth, p. 53; Baker, 97). Froissart, modifying Le Bel, gives in another place more than forty thousand men-at-arms (i., p. 17).

31

- 278 Xviii yheir. Edward, born November, 1312, was only fifteen.
- 279 Cohdaill. The Cock flows into the Wharfe, a tributary of the Yorkshire Ouse. Sir Herbert Maxwell says Coquetdale (Robert the Bruce, p. 311).

287 sevyn battellis. According to Le Bel, the English were in three battles of infantry, each battle having two wings of

five hundred men-at-arms (p. 49).

- 316 north half Wer, toward Scotland. Maxwell insists that the Scots were on the south bank, on account of an order from Edward on August 3, located at Stanhope, to which may be added a later reference to his having been there (Robert the Bruce, p. 312 and note; Bain, iii., Nos. 929, 933). But the Scots were certainly at Stanhope Park, on the north bank (see below on 490 and 513). Mr. J. T. T. Brown, also on the strength of the first citation from Bain, says that "Froissart and the Scottish poet are both alike in error in placing the Scottish army on the north bank and the English on the opposite of the Wear" (The Wallace and Bruce Restudied, p. 144). In what he writes, Froissart simply follows Le Bel, who was present. Neither expressly says that the Scots were on the north bank, but it is made clear in both that the river separated the forces. Nothing is said by Barbour of how the English hunted for the Scots, but could not find them; of their rough and hurried ride to the Tyne at Hexham to cut off the expected Scottish retreat; or of their rush south when it was discovered by a squire that the Scots were on the Wear—all of which is graphically described by Le Bel and transferred to his own work by Froissart (Le Bel, i., ch. xii.; Froissart, ch. xvii.).
- 322 Stude in a strynth. They were drawn up in three battles on the slope of the mountain on which they were encamped (Le Bel, p. 62). Gray says the Scots were in three divisions on a fine plain, and calls this first position also Stanhope (Scala., p. 154). But it is clear from the detailed accounts of Barbour and Le Bel that the Scots were on a

hill.

328 Weris wattir. "Below this mountain was a strong, swift river" (Le Bel, p. 62). "The King took up a position before them on the Wear wattir for three days" (Scala., p. 154).

350 Archibald... of Douglas. Youngest brother of Sir James, "the Tineman" (i.e., the Loser), afterwards Regent of Scotland; killed at Halidon Hill, 1333. His especial share in this raid was to plunder the bishopric of Durham (Scala., p. 154; Maxwell's History of the House of Douglas, vol. i., pp. 70, 71, 75).

vol. i., pp. 70, 71, 75).

These lines appear to mean that Douglas alternately advanced and retired so as to draw the English on. The

Scots on the next day, according to Le Bel, "ran forwards and backwards in skirmishing" (couroient et racouroient tout en eshcarmuchant, p. 64).

374 Schir Williame of Erskyn. It is noted that Bruce died in debt to Erskine (Excheq. Rolls, i., p. 404).

396 Tymbrys for helmys. Wooden crests on helmets, common in the fourteenth century. Apparently the novelty was not in the crests, but in the material; hitherto they would have been made of cuir-bouilli (see Bk. XII., 23, note). Edward III. bore an eagle: "Tymbre de legle (? l'aiglé) (Bain, iii., p. lxviii).

399 crakkis of war. Early cannon (cf. on Bk. XVII., line 250). It is not easy to understand how the English carried these with them in their forced marches over hill and dale. Le Bel does not mention them. They do not appear again in warfare till Creçy (1346), if then (Oman, Art of War, p. 611).

402 That nycht. "The night of St. Peter in August" (la nuit Saint-Pierre d'aoust, Le Bel, 64). St. Peter's Day was August I, but as Mass was heard on the morrow, the "night" was probably that of July 31, St. Peter's Eve.

405 The Inglis men. Le Bel (Froissart) does not relate the incidents given by Barbour, or these operations, except in general terms. Many "companions," he says, with the assistance of their horses, crossed the river, and some on foot; prisoners were taken, and others wounded or killed on both sides; and this went on continuously for three days (p. 64). The English learned from their prisoners that the Scots had neither bread, salt, nor wine, and so they hoped to starve them out; but they had plenty of beef, and were not particular about how they ate it, without salt or bread, "boiled or roasted as it liked them;" as well as some oatmeal, of which they made cakes (i., p. 65).

431 all aravit. Each of the first two days, Le Bel tells us, the English were drawn up in order of battle, though it came

only to fruitless skirmishing.

482 Fyres in gret foysoun. The Scots, writes Le Bel, always made a wonderful number of fyres between night and morning; and by this and their blowing of horns and shouting together it seemed as if all the devils of hell were

assembled there (pp. 64, 65; Johnes, i., ch. xviii.).
486 Twa myle. "Two small leagues" (Le Bel). "A short league" (Scala.). "League," as usual, signifies just a mile, as when Le Bel credits the Scots with an average day's march of from twenty to thirty-two "leagues" (p. 4).

488 defend thame bettir. "A much stronger place than before"

(Le Bel, 65).

Stanhope Park, a hunting-ground of the Bishop of 490 a park. Durham, on the north bank of the Wear. "The Scots entered the park of Stanhope and there lodged; likewise

3I - 2

also the English on the other side of a certain stream pitched camp and rested" (Gesta Edw., p. 96). The Scots moved to "within the park of Stanhope" (dedenz le park de Stanhope, Scala., p. 154). "The Scots betook themselves to hope, Schue, p. 1349. The Scottish army was "at Stanhope Park" (apud Stanhop park, Contin. Chron., Murimuth, p. 53; Chron., Knighton, i., p. 445; Baker, p. 97; Hemingburgh, ii., p. 298). And those who have rejected Barbour's statement as to the northward position of the Scots, resting on a single citation from Bain (see on 316), would have found, a few pages farther on, an express reference to the time when the Scots were surrounded and beset (circumdati et obsessi) in the park of Stanhope by the King's army (Bain, No. 957, June 29, 1328). Edward, being so near, could very well speak of himself as "at Stanhope." Bain later admits

the Scots were at Stanhope (Edwards in Scotland, p. 77).
492 full of treis. At Stanhope Park "they were lodged in a wood" (Le Bel, 65). "In the woodys of Stanhop park in dvverse busshementis" (Fabyan, p. 439).

495 Be nychtyrtale. I.e., by night-time, as in Chaucer:

" by nightertale He sleep namore than doth a nightingale." (Prologue, 97, 98).

501 Upon the wattir. "On another mountain . . . also on the river " (Le Bel, i. 65).

503 on the morn. Barbour gives the Scots only two days in the first position opposite the English, not saying how long they had been already "liand" there, which Le Bel says was eight days. Le Bel says, further, that they left on the third, not the second, night, and that their departure was discovered on the morning of the fourth day (p. 65). If the English arrived on July 31 (cf. on 402), and Edward was at Stanhope on August 3 (cf. on 316), this would be right. Gray says the Scots shifted camp on the fourth night (Scala., p. 154). Fordun suggests only one position. the second (Gesta Annalia, cxl.).

513 on other half the watter of Wer. Cf. Gesta Edwardi in note on 490. In Le Bel the river is still between the armies.

(pp. 65, 66).

516 Aucht dayis. Maxwell affirms that, in saying this, Barbour "either draws on his imagination, or has been misled by his informants" (Robert the Bruce, p. 314); and the chronology of the various writers is hard to reconcile. Gray gives six days for the second position (p. 154); Le Bel (Froissart) eighteen (68); Knighton fifteen (Leycestrensis Chron., i. 445; Hemingburgh says the Scots were besieged for fifteen days in Stanhope Park (ii., p. 298). But the author of Gesta Edwardi agrees with Barbour in

assigning eight days (octo diebus dicursis, p. 97), and so does the Lanercost writer (p. 259) and Fordun (Gesta Annalia, cxl.). Yet Mr. Brown accuses Barbour, in fixing that term, of "always lauding his own side," though these English chroniclers support him (The Wallace and The Bruce, p. 145). One document suggests that Edward was at Durham on August 5 (Bain, iii., No. 930), but dates and places on legal documents do not always signify what they suggest. The order from Durham was issued in the King's name. Edward was still at Stanhope on August 7 (Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III. s. d.).

519-20 ilk day justyng of Wer, And scrymming. Every day skirmishing by those who wished to skirmish" (Le Bel, 67). Cf. throughout Froissart, ch. xviii.

527 on the nynt day. "The first night that our lords were lodged upon this (second) mountain" (Le Bel, p. 67). In Scala apparently the third night (p. 155).

533 V. hundreth. "Two hundred men-at-arms" (Le Bel, p. 67). "A few" (Lanercost, 260; Gesta Edw., 96). 534 in the night. "About midnight" (Le Bel).

534 in the night.

535 so fer he raid. "He passed this river a good distance (bien loin) from our host" (Le Bel).

538 slely can he ryd. "Wherefore no one perceived him" (Le Bel.

541 hew rapys. See below on 561. 550 no vachis. "He suddenly passed through the sentinels of the

English" (Gesta Edw., pp. 96-7).

560 He ruschit on thame hardely. He fell on the English host most boldly, crying: "Douglas! Douglas! you shall die all, lords of England" (Le Bel, ibid.). In Froissart it becomes "thieves of England" (Berners, Johnes), a version due, apparently, to Froissart's later re-editing of his own work. In Lettenhove's edition (1863) it is "'Glas, 'Glas'' (i., p. 102). Knighton says that when Douglas was seen by some English he began to cry in English (Anglica voce), "'No warde a seynt Jorge!' as if he were an Englishman " (i. 445).

561 doune he bare. Le Bel (Froissart) says Douglas got so far that "he cut two or three cords of the King's tent." "He penetrated (intravit) a great part of the army of the King, and came nearly to the King's tent" (Lanercost, "He passed through the midst of the English

army" (Gesta Edwardi, 97).

565 Thai stabbit, stekit, and thai slew. "They began, he and his company, to make a great attack. (A faire une grand envaïe et à coper et mehagnier gens et à abatre (car ce fus sus le point dou premier somme) et porterent grand damage a l'oost " (Froissart in Vatican MS., ed. Lettenhove, i., chap. xxxiii., p. 102. 1863).

567 A felloun slauchtir. "Douglas and his company slew more than three hundred "(Le Bel). "Some he slew, some took captive" (Gesta Edw., p. 97). They "slew a great part of the people of the Earls" (Scala., p. 155).

568 liand nakit. I.e., unarmoured. "And he slew or he seased

- ccc. men, some in their beddes, and some skant redy" (from Berner's Froissart, but not in Johnes nor in any of the known editions of Froissart nor in Le Bel; not, however, a very unusual exercise of the imagination). Barbour's descriptive detail is evidently due to his informa-"He gave very many a rude awakening" (plurimos terribiliter evigilavit. Gesta Edw., p. 97). "On his return he slew many in their amazement" (attonitos. Lanercost, 260).
- 577 That lord, etc. I.e., "First one lord and then another was aroused."
- 614 cummyn ar thai. "He himself (Douglas) returned unhurt to his own army" (Gesta Edw., 97); "with very great difficulty" (Knighton, i. 445).

638 ilk day growis. Edward was still summoning men to his host. Such a summons is dated at Stanhope, August 3 (Bain,

No. 929).

- 639 vattale has. Le Bel, on the contrary, says the English army was suffering severely from want of food, and that provisions were at a famine price (toudis avions nous paour de plus grand famine, pp. 66-68). The final Froissart does not have these passages, but suggests the same thing (p. 24). The Lanercost chronicler speaks of their failing victuals (p. 259).
- 644 Sic as we hat. See notes on 405 and 735. Le Bel says the English expected the Scots would be forced by famine to make a night attack (p. 68; Froissart, Johnes, p. 24).

657 A nycht. "One night."

667 thou mon heir out. "You can get out only here."

712 thai sall let thame trumpit ill. Evidently in allusion to line 680. "Trumpeting" seems to have been the prelude to any operation. Or the phrase may be in French idiom, introducing the verb tromper, to deceive, which, however, would be unusual for Barbour.

731 blew hornys and fyres maid. Cf. note on 482.

735 the nycht wes fallyn. According to Le Bel, a Scottish knight was that day captured, who, much against his will, informed them that in the morning the Scots lords had arranged that every man was to be armed at vespers (68), and that each was to follow the banner of Douglas wherever he should go, and that every man was to keep it secret; but the Scots knight did not know for certain what their purpose was. The English judged that the Scots, forced by unendurable famine, were about to make an attack on their host (p. 68). Next day it was found that the Scots

had departed "before midnight" (p. 69), "leaving the park by night" (Gesta Edw., p. 97). Certain allusions would lead us to infer that the English had, to some extent, got round the Scots. Le Bel declares that the Scots were thought to be planning an attempt to break through the English on two sides (brisier nostre ost à deux costés, pp. 68-9). The Lanercost writer says the Scots got away to their own country "by moving round the army of the King" (circueundo regis exercitum versus Scotiam pertransirent, p. 259). They were surrounded, according to Knighton (i., 445). Cf. also extract 957 from Bain in note on 490, and lines 800, 801. Le Bel says that he and some "companions" had to cross the river next day to get to the Scottish encampment, where they found abundance of beef in various forms. The account in the Scalacronica is simply that, the third night after the Douglas affair, the Scots broke camp and marched to their own country (Scala., p. 155). Several English chroniclers attribute the escape of the Scots to treachery on their own side (Murimuth, 53, 64; Knighton, i. 445; Gesta Edw.,

97, etc.).

mmer. "Sumpter-horse," as, with a different spelling, 746 summer. in Wallace, iv. 53; "Thar tyryt sowmir so left thai in-to

playne."

766-7 iill consale, etc. "When the lords heard this they took counsel . . . and said that to chase after the Scots would profit them nothing, for they could not be overtaken"

(Le Bel, p. 69).

770 Kyng Robert than. If so, Bruce must have hurried back from Ireland, for on July 12 he granted a truce of one year to the people of Ulster (Bain, iii. 922). This Irish campaign appears to have been a failure (ibid., 1191). These are our only allusions to it. In Scala. it is said that it was the Earls who heard they were besieged (p. 155).
774 tuenty thousand. "Five thousand" (Scala., p. 155).

776 Marche and Angous. "Patrick, Earl of March, and John the Steward, who styled himself Earl of Angous" (Scala., p. 155). March (cf. note on Bk. XI. 46) had joined the Scots some time before February, 1317 (Bain, iii. 536). Sir John Stewart of Boncle, or Bonkill, son of Sir Alexander (see on Bk. IX. 692), was created Earl of Angus by Bruce (Scots Peerage, i. 169).

781 the sammyn day. "The very day of their departure"

(Scala., 155).

708 Had vittale with thame. On the contrary, Gray declares that if they had had enough provisions they would have gone back: they were such fierce warriors (p. 155).

# BOOK XX.

- I Soyne eftir. "Not long after" (nec multum post. Gesta Edw., p. 97). It was "lately," on September 22, 1327
- (Northern Registers, p. 344). 5 A gret host. "With a great army" (North. Reg., p. 344).
- 7 to Norhame. Besieged Norham Castle (ibid.; also Fædera, iii., p. 975; and Scala., p. 155). Robert himself was at Norham (Scala.). For this and next note, cf. Scotichronicon, ii., p. 288.

10 Awnwyk. Alnwick. "Besieged the castle of Alnwick for more than fifteen days" (Gesta Edw., p. 97). Alnwick

besieged by Moray and Douglas (Scala., 155).

15 mony fair gud chevelry. At Alnwick "there were great jousts of war by formal agreement" (estoient grantz joustes

de guere par covenaunt taille. Scala., p. 155).
23-25 The landis of Northumberland . . . gaf he. "And lands, it is claimed, within the kingdom of England, the said King Robert confers on certain of his followers, and causes charters to be prepared for the grantees" (North. Reg., p. 344; cf. "thai payit for the seliys fee") 27 raid he destroyand. The Scots "destroyed Northumberland

almost entirely, except the castles, and remained there a

long time " (Lanercost, p. 260).

31 Ledaris of hym. "The Queen and Mortimer arranged everything ' (la royne et le Mortimer le firent tout, Scala., 156). "By the evil advice of his mother and Roger, Lord of Mortimer" (Lanercost, p. 261); "his mother then ruled the

whole kingdom " (ibid.).

33 Send messyngers. The "messengers" (nuntios; in Acts., messages) and procurators of the King of England were the Bishops of Lincoln and Norwich, Henry Percy, William of Ashby-de-la-Zouch (a Mortimer), and Geoffrey Scrope. The negotiations took place at Edinburgh, and were concluded March 17, 1328 (Gesta Edw., p. 98; Acts Parl. Scot., i., p. 124). A parliament at Northampton finally agreed to the treaty, May 4, 1328 (Exchequer Rolls, i. ciii.).

38 fiff yheir . . . scarsly. David Bruce was born on March 5,

1324.

39 Johane . . . of the Tour. Having been born in the Tower of London. "Johanam de Turre" (Lanercost, p. 261); " Johannam de Turribus" (Scotich., ii., p. 290).

43 sevin yher. Born 1321.

44 monymentis and lettrys ser. Especially the Ragman Roll (Icelandic, ragmanr, a coward?), containing a list of the homages to Edward on August 28, 1296, at Berwick, by the churchmen, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and

whole community of Scotland, as well as earlier submissions (Bain, ii. xxv., pp. 193-214; cf. also Lanercost, p. 261; Knighton, i. 448-9; Scotichr., ii., p. 289; Baker, p. 103). Baker says the Roll was publicly burned at the marriage at Berwick (ibid.). The only copies of it that exist are in the Tower Rolls (Bain, ibid.), with portions of the original instruments of homage; so that this stipulation was never carried out (Acts Parl. Scot., i., p. 19).

48 all the clame. "Omnem clameum (sic) seu demandam" (Lanercost, p. 261). Cf. for terms of the "Relaxation of Superiority," Fædera, iv., p. 338; York, May 1, 1328.

53 Fully xx thousand pund. Twenty thousand pounds sterling to be paid in three years (Acts Parl. Scot., i., p. 125). Fordun says 30,000 marks out of King Robert's "mere goodwill," in compensation for English losses (Gesta Annalia, cxli.). The last payment was in 1331 (Excheq. Rolls, cx.).

67 for the mangery. The Exchequer Rolls, I, cxiv.-cxvii., contain a long list of purchases in the Low Countries for the household of the young people—food, furniture, utensils, etc.

73 male es. Fr. mal aise, illness. According to Le Bel, Bruce was suffering from the "great sickness" (la grosse maladie) in 1327 (p. 48; see also 79). The Lanercost chronicler says it was leprosy (factus fuerat leprosus, p. 259). Johnes translates Froissart's "grosse maladie" as leprosy (i. 18, 26).

79 Cardross. On the Clyde, half way between Dumbarton and Helensburgh, acquired by the King in 1326 in exchange for other lands (Exchequer Rolls, I., cxix.).

83 To Berwik. The marriage took place on Sunday, July 19, 1328 (Lanercost, p. 261); July 17 (Gesta Annalia, cxlii.).

85 the Queyne and Mortymer. Edward III. himself was not

present (Lanercost, p. 261).
125 At that parliament. The arrangement as to the succession of the Steward and a possible regency were made in a parliament of 1318. Randolph was to be regent, and, failing him, Douglas (Acts Parl., i. 105). Barbour divides the regency; Fordun makes no mention of this (Gesta

Annalia, cxxxix.).

129 Maid hym manrent and fewte. Some such ceremony in all likelihood did take place; Barbour's statement is not to be rejected lightly. Le Bel (Froissart) says that when the King felt the approach of death he summoned his barons (see below), and charged them, on their fealty, to guard loyally the kingdom for his own David, and when he came of age obey him, and crown him King, and marry him suitably—in which last detail Le Bel is, of course, astray (p. 79; Johnes, i. 27). 130 Till Cardross went. He had paid a visit to Galloway, and

was at Glenluce on March 29, 1329.

158 For the lordis. See note on 129.

167 Lordingis. An alternative account of this speech and of the whole circumstances up to the death of Douglas is given by Le Bel (ch. xxv.), and adapted from him by Froissart (Johnes, i., ch. xx.). Divergencies or close parallels are noted as they occur. See on these Appendix, F. vi. Baker also has a brief account, citing, as a witness of the doings of Douglas in Spain, Thomas Livingstone, a Carmelite friar, at that time a civilian serving under his

command in the Christian army (p. 104).

177 my trespass. This sounds like a clerical interpretation; cf. Bk. II. 43-5 for a similar comment. In Le Bel Bruce opens with the remark that all knew that he had much to do in his time, and had suffered much to maintain

the rights of this kingdom (as cited).

178 my hert fyschit firmly was. "I made a vow which I have not accomplished and which weighs upon me" (Le Bel).

"I vowed," etc. (Baker, p. 105).
181 to travell apon Goddis fayis. "To make war upon the enemies of our Lord and the adversaries of the Christian faith beyond the sea" (Le Bel). Froissart does not have the closing phrase. "That I would fight with my body against the enemies of Christ" (Baker, p. 105).

183-5 the body may on na wis, etc. "Since my body is not able

to go or accomplish that which the heart has so long desired. I wish to send the heart for the body to make satisfaction for me and my wish" (pour moy et pour mon vueil acquittier. Le Bel, 1904, I., chap. xv.); "to fulfil my vow" (pour mon voeu achever. Froissart); "Because alive I shall not be able"—i.e., to go (Baker, 105).

188 cheis me ane. Le Bel and Baker represent Bruce as himself choosing Douglas for the mission; so, too, does Bower

(Scotichr., ii., p. 300).

191-2 On Goddis fayis, etc. Cf. above on line 181. Le Bel gives the commission differently and in fuller detail: "That you take my heart and have it embalmed, and take as much of my treasure as will seem good to you for performing the journey, for yourself and all those whom you will wish to bring with you; and that you will carry my heart to the Holy Sepulchre, where our Lord was buried, since the body is not able to go thither; and that you do it as magnificently (si grandement) and as well provided with all things and with attendance sufficient, as belongs to your estate; and wherever you come let it be known that you carry as a commission (comme message) the heart of the King of Scotland for the reason that his body cannot go thither." In Johnes it is, from Froissart, "you will deposit your charge at the Holy Sepulchre"; in Berners, "present my heart to the H.S." The Vatican (final) MS. of Froissart, however, has "that you carry (the

heart) beyond the sea against the heathen (mescreans) and as far as to the Holy Sepulchre and leave it there, if you have the fortune to go so far" (si l'aventure poes avoir d'aler si avant, Lettenhove, I., chap. xxxviii., p. 119). Bain summarizes a Protection "for seven years," given by Edward III. on September I, 1329, for James Douglas, "on his way to the Holy Land with the heart of the late Robert K. of Scotland, in aid of the Christians against the Saracens" (No. 991); who also, on the same date, commends Douglas, on this mission, to Alfonso K. of Castile, Leon, etc. (990). In the Pope's absolution for the ecclesiastical offence of mutilating a dead body, dated at Avignon, August 6, 1331, which, of course, proceeds on a narrative furnished from Scotland, it is explained that King Robert had expressly commanded that "his heart should be carried in battle against the Saracens" (in bello contra Saracenos portaretur), and that, in accordance with the wish of the King himself, it was carried by Douglas into Spain in battle against the said Saracens (Theiner, Vetera Monumenta, No. 498). Baker has it, "that you carry my heart against the enemies of the name of Christ to Gardiavia on the frontier" (ad fronterii Gardiaviam, p. 105). Later chroniclers distort the details somewhat, Bower alleging that the heart was to be buried in Jerusalem, and sending both Alfonso and Douglas to the Holy Land; referring the reader, nevertheless, to "Barbour's Bruce" ("Barbarii Broisacus," Scotichr., ii., p. 301); while the Book of Pluscarden simply paraphrases Bower, expanding the reference to the Bruce (legendam dicti excellentissimi principis in nostro vulgari compositam). Cf. also note in Brown's Wallace and Bruce, pp. 136-7, where, however, Mr. Brown's hand is being forced by his theory. Doubtless Bruce's words might be alternatively interpreted; but, from what we know of Douglas, we may conclude that he fulfilled his commission to the letter, and that Barbour is, so far, right. The Vatican Froissart shows us how, also, the confusion arose. Scott, in his final note on The Abbot, prints a commendation (May 19, 1329) of Melrose Abbey by Bruce to his son David and his successors, in which he says that he has arranged that his heart should be buried there, but makes no mention of a prior destination. Edward I. also had "bequeathed" his heart to the Holy Sepulchre (Trivet, p. 413; Wright's Political Songs, p. 247). 197 greting. "All those who were there began to weep with much compassion" (Le Bel).

the most suitable man in my kingdom and the most worthy will perform that which I have not been able to perform " (Le Bel).

223-231 "Noble sire, a hundred thousand thanks for the great honour you do me, when you charge and entrust to me so noble and so great a thing and such a treasure; and I shall do very willingly what you command concerning your heart, doubt it not, to the best of my power" (Le Bel). In Baker, "I swear by the heart of Jesus Christ that I shall carry your heart as you have asked me and die fighting with the cursed enemies" (contra prædamnatos hostes moriturum, p. 105).

253 he wes ded. June 7, 1339, aged fifty-four years and eleven months.

276 all for his persoune. This, as may be gathered from all that here precedes, was fully the case. Le Bel, in his earliest reference (ch. i.), refers to him as "the noble King Robert the Bruce, who was King of Scots, and had given often so much trouble to the good King Edward, spoken of above" (Edward I.); and later says that from their exploits these two Kings were reputed "the two most worthy in the world" (p. 107). On the English side: "Indeed, I would speak of Lord Robert the Bruce with the greatest praise, did not the guilt of his homicide and the knowledge of his treason compel me to be silent," and the writer drops into a couplet to the same effect (Vita Edw. Sec., p. 166). Baker is of the same mind; Bruce was "every inch a soldier" (per omnia militarem), save that he was disloyal to his natural lord, which no knight should be (p. 101).

286 bawlmyt syne. According to Le Bel, the heart was taken

out and embalmed (p. 81).
292 solempnly erdit syne. "He was buried in the honourable manner that became him, according to the usage of the country" (Le Bel, ibid.). Froissart adds that "he lies in Dunfermline Abbey." His skeleton was brought to light in digging in the Abbey in 1819, showing the breastbone sawn up to get at the heart. It is that of a man about six feet high. The mass of the wide, capacious head is to the rear, and the forehead is rather low; the marks of the muscles on the head and neck are very pronounced, and the cheekbones particularly strong and prominent. Four front teeth in the upper jaw are missing, three, apparently, as the result of a blow, the socket being much fractured. The lower jaw is exceptionally strong and deep. For full details see Archael. Scot., vol. ii., pp. 435-453. The fair toume was brought from Paris to Bruges, and thence, by England, to Dunfermline; the expense of this conveyance and of many other items in connection with the interment are to be found in the Exchequer Rolls, vol. i.

318 To schip till Berwik. "En Escoce" (Le Bel, i., p. 83); "Montrose," adds Froissart (Lettenhove, I., chap. xxxix.)

324 the Grunye of Spanyhe. Bain makes this comment, reading Grunye from E. "The 'Grunye' is probably Coruna, called by sailors the 'Groyne.' Mr. Skeat's text makes the word 'grund,' taking no notice of the other reading " (iii., p. xxxvii, note). Le Bel takes Douglas first to Sluys in Flanders, making him hear in that port of the operations in Spain (p. 84). In Sluys, he says, he hoped to meet with some going to Jerusalem (p. 83).

326 Sebell the Graunt. Seville the Grand, on the Guadalquiver. "First at the port of Valence (Valentia) la Grande" (Le Bel, 84). Seville was then the base of operations

against the Moors.

336-7 a fair company, And gold eneuch. According to Le Bel, Douglas had with him the knight-banneret and six others of the most distinguished men of his country. His plate was of silver (and gold, adds Froissart), and all of his own rank who visited him at Sluys were treated to two kinds of wine and two kinds of spices (ch. xvi.; Johnes, i., ch. xx.).

338 The Kyng. Alphonso XI. of Castile and Leon, to whom Douglas had been commended by Edward III.; see note on 190. There was another Alphonso, IV. of Arragon, but he gave no assistance on this occasion (Mariana, Bk. xv., ch. x., p. 255).

361 The Inglis knychtis. Prussia and Spain were the favourite resorts of English knights anxious to war against the infidels. Chaucer's knight had been in both countries

on this errand (Prologue, 53-56).

393 Balmeryne. A Moorish kingdom in Africa; or, more correctly, of the reigning dynasty, the Banu-Marin. In Chaucer's Prologue it is "Belmarye" (line 57); in Froissart the name appears more correctly as Bellemarie (Johnes, ii., p. 484); Letten., I., p. 121, chap. xxxix.).

401 The vaward. In Le Bel (Froissart) Douglas betakes himself to one of the wings "the better to do his business and

display his power " (son effort, p. 84).

402 the strangeris with him weir. So we gather also from Baker, whose informant served under Douglas. Ct. note on 167. 403 mastir of Saint Jak. The Master, or head, of the Order of

St. James.

407 To mete their fayis. On March 25, 1330, at Tebas de Hardales, a strong town in Granada (Mariana, Bk. xv., ch. x., p. 255). Fordun, however, dates the battle August 25 (cxliv.). 421-32 Bot ere they joyned, etc. See on these lines Appendix D.

431 So fer chassit. The account in Le Bel is to the effect that Douglas attacked prematurely, thinking that Alphonso

was about to do so, and that he was being followed up. But Alphonso did not move for the reason, we learn from Mariana, that the frontal attack of Moorish cavalry was but a feint, and that the real attack, as the King said, was to be in the rear on the Christian camp (Le Bel, p. 84; Mariana, as cited). Alphonso was better acquainted than Douglas with the Moorish methods of fighting. Fordun's narrative is that Douglas and his company were cut off by an ambuscade which, though superior in numbers, they readily attacked (Gesta Annalia, cxliv.).

440 That relyit. I.e., the Moors rallied. It was their usual tactics to attempt to draw after them a body of the enemy

in pursuit, and then surround the pursuers.

467 ilkane war slavn thar. "Not a single one of them escaped,

but they were all slain " (Le Bel, p. 84).

521 the leill Fabricius. Roman consul, 278 B.C. A traitor offered to poison Pyrrhus, but the Roman refused the proposal, and sent information to Pyrrhus (*Plutarch*).

585 the kirk of Dowglas. St. Brides, Douglas.

587 Schir Archibald his sone. Skeat, in his note on this passage, is all astray. He says that Douglas was never married, that he left only a natural son William, and that this Archibald was his third or youngest brother. But Sir William Fraser is of opinion that Sir James was married, though Sir Herbert Maxwell doubts, and certainly no record of it survives; but he was succeeded in the estates by William, while his brother Archibald "Tineman" (Loser) was killed at Halidon Hill in 1333. He, however, had another son, certainly illegitimate, the Archibald referred to here, who succeeded in 1388 as third Earl of Douglas, and died, after a varied career, in 1400 (Fraser's Douglas Book, I., 188-9; Scalacronica; Maxwell's History of the House of Douglas, i., p. 67 and 114-124; Acts Parl., i. 193-4; Reg. Mag. Sig., i., p. 177). Archibald was known as "the Grim." Mr. Brown cites Fraser to the effect that Archibald erected the tomb "probably about the year 1390, after his succession as third Earl of Douglas " (Douglas Book, I., p. 181); and adds the proposition that he could not have done so before his succession, because, according to the Book of Pluscarden (1462), his friends "held him in small account because he was a bastard." and because his succession to the estates was disputed (Acts Parl. Scot., i., p. 194; The Wallace and Bruce, pp. 154-5). Mr. Brown's contention, therefore, is that the statement in the text could not have been penned by Barbour in 1375, and that it is not due to him, but to his redactor. The reasoning is not all conclusive; against the plain statement of Barbour there is only an assumption on Fraser's part, and inferences on the part of Mr. Brown which are not necessarily contained in his premisses. Archibald was, no doubt, only a child when his father was killed; but he became Lord of Galloway in 1369, and Earl of Wigtown in 1372. What was there

to prevent his erecting a tomb for his distinguished father, except a delicacy of feeling on the side of the "legitimates," which is rather modern than late mediæval? Archibald bought his earldom, built and endowed a hospital near Dumfries, erected Thrieve Castle, and had extensive lands in various parts of Scotland, so that he must have been a man of considerable wealth, besides being, as Warden, the most important figure on the Border. Who or what was then to prevent him honouring the congenial memory of his great father before 1375-6?

600 Melros. Cf. note on 191-2.

604 And held the pure weill to warrand. I.e., "And carefully guarded or looked after the interests of the poor."

guarded or looked after the interests of the poor."

609 poysonyt was he. Moray died at Musselburgh, July 20, 1332.

Fordun says nothing of poisoning (Gesta Annalia, cxlvi.).

But there appears to have been a popular story to this effect, to which, later, was added the detail that his poisoner was an English monk (Scotiche, ii., lib. xiii., ch. xix.). Moray died of the stone from which he suffered towards the close of his life; the rest Hailes considered "a silly popular tale" (Annals, vol. iii., App. 2).

# APPENDICES

# APPENDIX A

### THE SITE OF THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN

IT will be noticed that the conception of this battle, alike as to position and tactics, elaborated in the notes in strict conformity with Barbour, differs entirely from that now universally accepted. The engagements of the first day (Sunday) were the outcome of attempts to clear the two paths of approach to Stirling-that through the New Park, and the other on the level below St. Ninians. Both failed, and the means by which their failure was brought about determined the operations of the following day (Monday). This main engagement, however, it has been hitherto held, took place on the banks of the Burn, below or in the neighbourhood of Brock's Brae, with the Burn separating the forces. This is pure misconception. There can be no doubt that the battle was fought on a position roughly at right angles to this—on "the playne," "the hard feld," or level ground east of St. Ninians, reaching back into the angle formed by the Forth and the Bannock. The main data for such a conclusion are these: (1) The English passed the night on the Carse, having crossed the Bannock; (2) the Scots attached early next morning, and to do this "tuk the playne," leaving their camp-followers in the Park, so that they astonished the English by their audacity: (3) in the rout many English were drowned in the Forth and in the Bannock; (4) Edward II., unable to get away, fled to the castle; (5) so did many of his men, as the castle "wes ner." These facts, fully substantiated from both sides, are wholly inconsistent with a site of battle south of St. Ninians, and fix its position between the Forth and the Bannock. pools" are the "polles" in which, according to Hemingburgh.1 the English baggage was bogged and captured after the battle of Stirling Bridge. The English and French (and Irish) chroniclers invariably speak of the battle as that of "Stirling," and Trokelowe calls it the Battle of Bannockmoor. For a full discussion of the matter, see my paper on "The Real Bannockburn" in Proceedings of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, 1908-1909.

# APPENDIX B

#### BRUCE'S SPEECH AT BANNOCKBURN

Воок XII. 210-327

It is the privilege of early historians to equip their leading personages with speeches, and in its pertinent, practical character the speech here provided for King Robert is a good example of such—so good, indeed, as to suggest the probability that Barbour is working up some transmitted material. There is on record another speech attributed to Bruce, which formed part of a Latin poem on Bannockburn by Abbot Bernard of Arbroath, Bruce's Chancellor, portions of which are quoted in the Scotichronicon. 1 This speech consists of twenty-five hexameter lines, and is a rhetorical flourish on Scottish liberty, the miseries inflicted by the English on the country, and the hapless condition of "mother Church," closing in strains of ecclesiastical exhortation. Moreover, it immediately precedes the opening of the battle, while Barbour's version is of the evening before. In the latter a special interest attaches to lines 263-268 and 303-317, which may be compared with the following extracts from a speech by Alexander the Great in The Vowes, one of the three romances which make up the Scottish Buik of Alexander, the translation of which from the French was probably the work of Barbour himself.<sup>2</sup> Alexander says:

> "Be thay assailyeit hardely, And encountered egerly, The formest cumis ye sall se, The hindmest sall abased be.

Forthy I pray ilk man that he Nocht covetous na yarnand be, To tak na ryches that thay wald, Bot wyn of deidly fais the fald; Fra thay be winnin all wit ye weill The gudis are ouris ever ilk deill; And I quyteclame yow utrely Baith gold and silver halely, And all the riches that thaires is, The honour will I have I wis." 3

Lib. xii., chap. xxi.
 P. 318.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Appendix E.

To the same purport as these latter lines is a portion of a subsequent address; and lines 325, 334 find a similar parallel in:

"Thus armit all the nicht thay lay, Quhile on the morne that it was day."<sup>2</sup>

Of the cardinal sentiment in the speech, the origin is probably to be found in the familiar story of the Maccabees, referred to more than once in *The Bruce*. Judas Maccabeus was one of the typical heroes of French romance, and had one metrical romance, at least, devoted to his career. And in 1 Maccabees, chap. iv., we have:

"17. (Judas) said to the people, Be not greedy of the spoils,

inasmuch as there is a battle before us.

"18. And Gorgias and his host are here by us in the mountain; but stand ye now against our enemies, and overcome them, and after this ye may boldly take the spoils." 3

### APPENDIX C

### THE NUMBERS AT BANNOCKBURN

ENGLISH: One hundred thousand men and ma. Scots: Thretty thousand, and sum deill mare.

These figures have given rise to much discussion, without any very certain result. Yet official data are not wanting—sufficient, at least, to check what is only another example of the wild conjectures of mediæval chroniclers when dealing with numbers. Hemingburgh gives Wallace at Falkirk "about three hundred thousand men" —rather more, probably, than the whole male population of Scotland. We need not be surprised, then, at how all such estimates shrink in the cold light of Exchequer figures.

Edward II. summoned all owing him military service, which corroborates the statement of the author of the Vita Edw. Sec. that "the King exacted from all the service due," as well as that of Barbour—"of England hale the chivalry." The Earls of Lancaster, Warenne, Arundel, and Warwick did not attend, for a particular reason, but sent their contingents. Now, by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. 339. <sup>2</sup> P. 350, lines 12, 13. <sup>3</sup> Cf. also Neilson on The Real "Scots Wha Hae" in Scottish Antiquary, vol. xiv., No. 53, July, 1899. <sup>4</sup> II. p. 180. <sup>5</sup> Fædera, iii., p. 464, etc.

<sup>6</sup> P. 201. 7 Vita Edw., p. 201.

Mr. Round's calculations, the whole number of knights' fees in England did not exceed 5,000; 1 Mr. Morris raises the figure to something short of 7,000.2 The important point is, however, that in practice the assessment was only a nominal or conventional one. Thus Gloucester, with 455 fees, was assessed at ten knights.3 Including all grades of horsemen, Mr. Morris puts "the maximum of the cavalry arm" at "about 8,000"; but, all things considered, no such number could ever take the field.4 Edward I, had summoned his full feudal array (omnes sui fideles) for the Falkirk campaign, and Hemingburgh says that, when counted, it came to 3,000 men on armoured horses (Barbour's "helit hors"), and more than 4,000 on unarmoured horses—say, roughly, 7,000 in all. Mr. Morris, however, by a generous calculation from the rolls, arrives at 2,400 as the highest possible figure. 6 Now, it is to be noted that the author of the Vita Edw. Sec., while lauding the size and magnificence of the host that went to Bannockburn, gives 2,000 men-at-arms as apparently the total of the cavalry, since he simply adds "a considerable body of footmen." On the whole, 3,000 to 4,000 English horse is a higher limit for Bannockburn, when we consider all the difficulties of sufficient armour, remounts, and forage. Mr. Morris thinks 10,000 "impossible," though he is here calculating on vards of frontage on a site where the battle was not fought.8 About 7,000 is Mr. Round's free estimate, adopting Hemingburgh's figure for Falkirk.9 Bain accepts Barbour's 3,000 heavy horsemen, and suggests 10,000 light horse, but proceeds on no data. Mr. Oman calculates that "three thousand equites coperti," men-at-arms on barded horses," means, probably, 10,000 for the whole cavalry, 11 but this traverses his Falkirk figures. England never put, nor could maintain, on the field such a mounted force, to say nothing of the difficulty of handling and manœuvring it.

For the foot we have, fortunately, exact figures in the Fædera<sup>12</sup>—21,540 men all told, which would include the archers. Only the northern counties—but not all—and Wales are drawn upon as those of the south would be for a French campaign.<sup>13</sup> Such had been the practice of Edward I., whose levies from the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Feudal England, p. 292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Welsh Wars of Edward I., p. 41.

Welsh Wars, p. 59.
 II. p. 173.
 Welsh Wars, p. 292.
 Welsh Wars, p. 292.

<sup>7</sup> Peditum turba copiosa, p. 201.

<sup>8</sup> Engl. Hist. Rev., vol. xiv., p. 133. Cf. Appendix A. 9 Bannochburn in The Commune of London, p. 298.

<sup>10</sup> Calendar, iii., p. xxi.
11 Art of War, p. 575 note.
12 Vol. iii., p. 482, etc.; also in Rotuli Scotiæ, i., p. 127; and

Parliamentary Writs, book ii., div. 2, p. 117.

13 Cf. Commune of London, p. 296; Engl. Hist. Rev., xiv.,

p. 133.

northern counties and Wales ranged from 29,400 foot in 1297 to 12,000 in 1301.1 Mr. Morris contends that not till 1322 were infantry drawn from all England for a Scottish campaign (as cited), but in this he is wrong. It was done by a special vote of Parliament, and according to a prescribed form, as early as March, 1316, when every township, with some special exceptions, furnished one soldier, 2 and again in 1318.3 These are clearly new and special arrangements, and there is thus no reason to believe that the list in Fædera, etc., is not complete, as Mr. Oman suggests, adding, accordingly, a southern contingent of about 30,000 men, though he doubts if "the extreme South" sent its full muster. 4 This is quite gratuitous. Lord Hailes, too, contended that the official records are imperfect, and that the numbers given by Barbour "are within the limits of probability." Bain's authoritative reply is that, "as a rule, the writs were always enrolled, and the Patent Rolls of the time are not defective."6 This, however, is not always true, and Bain, applying this principle absolutely, is once, at least, led to a wrong conclusion.7

An important question now suggests itself, but no one has so far raised it: did the levies in these full numbers turn up? They are allotted in round figures: what proportion was actually furnished? That there would be some trouble in securing the conscripts is anticipated and provided for in severe measures for the contumacious.<sup>8</sup> This was usual, and even the strong hand of Edward I. could not prevent men from deserting after they had received their wages. Here we have, also, a sufficient basis for an estimate. On May 12, 1301, Edward I. summoned for midsummer 12,000 men from nine of the counties included in the Bannockburn levy-York, as in that case, being assessed at 4.000.10 On July 12 we have the numbers from these counties as they appear on the pay-roll, when it is stated that they had contributed in proportions which give only 5,501 all told; York having sent only 1,193, and Northumberland, assessed at 2,700, providing the largest proportion—2,019.11 The numbers vary slightly on other days, but seem never to have exceeded, if they reached, 50 per cent. of the nominal levy. Mr. Morris works out the same result for the Caerlaverock Campaign of 1300.12 There are no grounds for assuming that things went differently in 1314,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bain, ii., Nos. 956, 1202, 1092, 1136.

<sup>2</sup> Writs as cited, pp. 176, 177.

<sup>3</sup> Trokelowe, p. 102; Rot. Scot., i., p. 183.

<sup>4</sup> Art of War, p. 573 and note. <sup>5</sup> Annals, ii., p. 48. 6 Calendar, iii., p. xx.

<sup>7</sup> See note on Book XVI., 285.

<sup>8</sup> Writs, ii., p. 185.

<sup>9</sup> Palgrave, exxvii.; Welsh Wars, pp. 95, 98.
10 Rain ii.. No. 1202. 11 Bain, ii., 1229. 10 Bain, ii., No. 1202. 12 Welsh Wars, p. 301.

and thus over 21,540 men are reduced by about half. quite a fair conclusion that not more than 12,000 English foot which exceeds the proportion above—were actually present at Bannockburn.

For the foreign contingents no figures exist. Bain thinks they were not "more than a few thousands." The Gascon corps in the Falkirk army should have been 106 mounted men.<sup>2</sup> The Hainault and Flanders auxiliaries who shared in the campaign of 1327 amounted to 550 men-at-arms, and were an expensive item.<sup>3</sup> The Irish contingent which came to Edward I. in 1304 amounted at most, for a few weeks only, to 3,500 men, 4 but to

merely 361 in the army of 1300.5

I would suggest, therefore, for the English army the following round numbers: 3,000 to 4,000 horse of all sorts, 12,000 English and Welsh foot, 3,000 (?) Irish, 1,500 (?) foreigners, or, in a lump sum, 20,000 men of all arms, to which must be added a crowd of non-combatants—servants, traders, and camp-followers generally. Bain (as cited) proposes 50,000; Round, 30,000; Oman, 60,000 to 70,000. I consider 18,000 to 20,000 the most probable range. With even the lower of these numbers, the English commanders in organization and commissariat would

have rather more than they could manage.

Barbour's figure for the Scottish army must be similarly reduced. More than 30,000 would be a huge proportion of the Scottish population of that time, especially as the whole does not seem to have been drawn upon, and of that, as Barbour insists, a good many were still hostile.6 William the Lion was credited in 1173 with a national host of 1,000 armoured horsemen, and 30,000 unarmoured footmen,7 and the latter unit is surely over the score. At Halidon Hill, 1333, the Scots are said to have had 1,174 knights and men-at-arms and 13,500 lightarmed men or foot; 3 and this chronicler consistently exaggerates. Yet these figures represent a united kingdom. Forty thousand at Bannockburn is the estimate for the Scots of the Vita Edw. writer, but the English writers, on their side, grossly overstate the numbers of the enemy, as witness what is said of Hemingburgh above. Bain's figure of 15,000 to 16,000 is no doubt nearer the mark; "perhaps twenty-five thousand men! in all" is Mr. Oman's conjecture.9 Possibly 6,000 to 7,000 is as near as we can go, adopting Barbour's ratio, which gives a proportion of I to 3 of the English army. The non-combatants here, too, would be numerous. Up to this time Bruce's men in the field could be numbered only in hundreds, so that as many thousands

9 Art of War, p. 575.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> III., p. xxi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Welsh Wars, p. 289. 3 Cf. Book XIX., 267 note.
5 Welsh Wars, p. 301.
6 See note
7 Chronique de Jordan Fantosme, lines 328-9. 4 Bain, ii., p. xxxix, note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See note on 46.

<sup>8</sup> Hemingburgh, ii., pp. 308-9.

would represent a very special effort. And note that after Murray's success over Clifford nearly the whole Scots army gathered round him to see him and do him honour—a fact which is suggestive as to its size.

### APPENDIX D

#### THE THROWING OF THE HEART

Воок ХХ. \*421-\*432

THESE lines are found only in Hart's printed edition. Pinkerton thought there was "no reason to view them as an interpolation," and Jamieson regarded their agreement with the account in the Howlat2 "a strong presumption of authenticity." By Skeat they were at first accepted as genuine, but afterwards, influenced by the reasoning on Barbour's rhymes of P. Buss in Anglia, he surrendered them as an interpolation. In the passage of twelve lines three rhymes occur, which are unusualmore strongly, impossible—for Barbour on the basis of his admitted work. These are battell—tell, to be—de, ho—to. In the first case, Barbour, it is claimed, elsewhere always uses the "liquid" form bataill (battalyhe) to rhyme with another word of the same character as assaile or travaill (travailyhe).4 In the second, he "never rhymes be with de (correctly dey)," as Skeat puts it, for de (Icel. deyja) was still influenced by the terminal semi-guttural, giving it an "impure" sound, whereas "be," with no ghostly after-sound, is quite "pure." The final example brings together two different values of "o," and, it may be added, in the four cases in which Barbour uses the word, it is in the form hoyne.<sup>5</sup> These rhyme-tests had also been applied to the same result by Mr. W. A. Craigie.6

With this conclusion Mr. Brown agrees, "although on slightly different grounds." Hart's edition, of course, takes a place in his general scheme of redaction. But he would "hesitate to reject the lines on the rimes alone," and "The be, de test" seems to him "quite untrustworthy." Skeat thinks it unanswerable. Mr. Neilson pleads "that this canon begs the whole

<sup>2</sup> See below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> XII. 159-164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> First Series, vol. ix., 493-514. <sup>4</sup> But note battell, two syllables, in xiii. 395, 418; xiv. 175; and battell-stede (xiv. 301).

and battell-stede (xiv. 301).

5 V. 602; vi. 564; x. 226; xiv. 152.
6 Scottish Remiere 1802, p. 102 note.

<sup>6</sup> Scottish Review, 1893, p. 192 note.
7 P. 135.
8 P. 135.
9 Pref., liv.

question of the text of the Bruce . . . first you find your canon; then you edit out of your text all that is disconform." Arguing specially on its application to The Legends of the Saints, he points out that "There are not a few metrical and other solecisms in the Bruce," and that the "exceptional e-rhyme" is the stamp of transition.2 It is to be observed also that Chaucer, Barbour's contemporary, and more careful in such matters than he, rhymes ho, y-do in the Knight's Tale. In the Alexander occurs the tell-battell rhyme.4 On the whole, the test is perhaps not so conclusive—out of Germany—as Skeat imagines. Further, from the indubitable reference in the Howlat to the Bruce, Neilson accepts the latter as the sole source of its digression, and the lines as therefore authentic.5

If, however, what has already been said of the passages from Hart hold good,6 then this one must go with the rest. Fortunately, in this specific case that argument can be greatly strengthened, for the lines have never been tried by their relation to the context and their historic implications, and that obvious and indisputable test puts the question beyond doubt. They have but an outside connection with the narrative of Barbour, and otherwise are in flat contradiction thereto. So

much is at once evident from the closing couplet:

"And took it up in gret daintie; And ever in field this used he."

It is a series of performances of this kind that is contemplated, not a single example, which is all that Barbour's account gives room for. Douglas is credited with a habit of this sort, "ever in field"; while Barbour, like Froissart, knows of only one battle in which Douglas fought while bearing the heart of Bruce.7 Nor is Barbour likely to have omitted such a "point of chivalry" on the part of his twin hero, had a valid tradition of it existed in his day.

The problem becomes clearer when we consider alternative and later accounts of the expedition of Douglas, for which see note on Book XX. 191, 192. Evidently the idea of his going to the Holy Land, as Froissart explains the commission,8 and as it occurs in Bower, gave an opening for embellishment, which expands in the hands of Boece to the extent of thirteen victories achieved by Douglas over the Turks! This, however, is only to give more precision to a composite account contained in the Buke of the Howlat of the middle of the fifteenth century, a poem

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> John Barbour, p. 50. <sup>2</sup> The Scottish Antiquary, vol. xi., p. 107 note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Group A, 2533-2534. 4 P. 308; 26, 27. <sup>5</sup> Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature, i. 175.

<sup>6</sup> Pref., pp. vi-viii.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. notes on Book XX. 393, 431.

<sup>8</sup> In part; but see the reconciling passage in note on xx. 191-2,

written in glorification of the Douglases. The author, supposed to be Richard Holland, speaks of the great friendship Bruce had for Douglas: "Reid the writ of thar work to your witness"—a clear reference to the Bruce, especially as in xxxv. and xxxvi. he paraphrases the reply of Douglas to the King in Book XX. 223, 234. Thereafter, however, he strikes off from Barbour. Douglas goes to "the haly graif," where—

#### "xxxvII.

"He gart hallowe the hart, and syne couth it hyng
About his hals<sup>2</sup> (neck) full hende (respectfully), and on his awne
hart."

The story then proceeds:

#### " xxxvIII.

"Now bot I semble for thi saull with Sarasenis mycht, Sall I never sene be into Scotland!"

An extension of the original commission, be it noted, and a motive for what follows:

"Thus in defence of the faith he fure to the fecht With knychtis of Cristindome to kepe his command. And quhen the batallis so brym, brathly and bricht, War joyned thraly in thrang, mony thousand, Amang the hethin men the hert hardely he slang, Said: 'Wend on as thou was wont, Throw the batell in bront, Ay formast in the front, Thy fays amang;'

### " xxxix.

"' And I sall followe the in faith, or feye to be fellit,—As thi lege man leill, my lyking thow art.'

Thus frayis he the fals folk, trewly to tell it,
Aye quhile he coverit (recovered) and come to the Kingis hart,
Thus feile feildis he wan, aye worschipand it,
Throwout Cristindome kid (known)
War the dedis that he did,
Till on a time it betid
As tellis the writ."

So we go back to Barbour ("the writ"), but in the final scene there is no mention of throwing the heart, any more than in the genuine *Bruce*, though it is stated that "His hardy men tuk the hart syne upon hand."<sup>4</sup>

Stanza xxxi.
 But cf. xx. 307, where this comes before
 XLI. Cf. Bruce, xx. 486, 487.

Obviously we have in these stanzas, and especially in the words underlined, the source of the lines in the *Bruce*, which are further in express contradiction to Barbour's narrative, and have no place in it. The threefold argument leads inevitably to the one conclusion that these lines are an interpolation, and, as a corollary, that their source is the *Howlat*. Mr. Amours, in editing that poem, has gone so far as to say that this is "almost certain." I would remove the qualification.

## APPENDIX E

# THE "ALEXANDER" AND THE "BRUCE"

The Buik of the Most Noble and Vailveand Conquerour, Alexander the Great is an anonymous Scots translation of three French romances in the Alexander cycle, dated, in a rhyming colophon, 1438, and published for the Bannatyne Club in 1831. Between this translation and the Bruce there is a remarkably intimate and undisguised connection, not only in spirit and method, but in "the diction as a whole, the choice of words and the arrangement of the sentences, (and) the abundant use of alliteration," to such an extent that "in reading the Buik of Alexander one would often think that he discerned the singer of the Bruce."3 A few examples have been given in the notes, but for a full survey of this literary phenomenon the reader must go to the dissertation quoted from above, or to Mr. J. T. T. Brown's The Wallace and the Bruce Restudied, pp. 100-112 (Bonn, 1900), or Mr. Neilson's John Barbour, Poet and Translator (London, 1900), which is devoted to the subject; or, for the parallels in the Bannockburn account, to Mr. Neilson's article on Barbour in Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature, vol. i.

On the facts there is no dispute; for explanation three hypotheses have been put forward. Hermann, accepting the 1438 date, concludes that the translator of the Alexander was so familiar with the language of the Bruce—"here and there, indeed, knew it by heart" (stellenweise es wohl auswendig wusste)—that his translation was necessarily strongly influenced thereby. This is inadmissible; the French poems are earlier than the Bruce, and to these the links of connection ultimately go back. The relationship is really deeper than the mere language of the translation, as Hermann himself indicates. Mr. Neilson, accordingly, in a detailed and forcible argument, claims Barbour himself as the translator of the Alexander, arguing that, the

Ed. S.T.S.
 Cf. also Preface, pp. vii-viii.
 Untersuchungen über das schottische Alexanderbuch. Albert

Hermann, Halle, 1893, pp. 26, 27.

<sup>4</sup> As cited, p. 35.

literary proofs being so conclusive, the date given must be an error, "scribal or printer's" Given Roman numerals to begin with, such a slip is not in the least unlikely; variations of this sort occur in the *Bruce* itself, <sup>2</sup> and 1438 may have been a misreading of 1338, or the date may be that of the scribe's copy, not of the actual work. Mr. Neilson has an ingenious section on the wayward fortunes of dates.3 Thus, reversing Hermann's thesis, he holds that "Barbour's mind and memory had been steeped in the Alexander when he wrote the Bruce." Mr. Neilson's argument and conclusion are vigorously contested by Mr. Brown in a Postscript to the work cited. His more elaborate hypothesis is that David Rate translated the Alexander in 1437, and that "John Ramsay, Sir John the Ross, wishful to improve the plain song of John Barbour, used the translation of the Alexander extensively, taking freely whatever he required."5 Mr. Brown's negative criticism is independent of this proposition which is involved in his wider theory regarding the construction of the *Bruce*. The eclectic conclusion of the writer in the *Cambridge* History of English Literature, vol. ii., is: "Either the book (i.e., the Alexander) is the work of Barbour preserved in a somewhat later form, or the author was saturated with Barbour's diction, so that he continually repeats his phrases."6

In the dust of the conflict a crucial fact has gone unobserved—namely, that one of the parallel lines enumerated by Brown and Hermann appears in the portion of the Bruce incorporated in his own work by Wyntoun. Here, then, we have a line of the alleged translation of 1438 occurring in the "Bruce" as it existed before 1420. Thus the only outstanding difficulty of Mr. Neilson's proposition disappears. The effect on the rival propositions is

obvious.

# APPENDIX F

## MR. BROWN'S "SOURCES" FOR THE "BRUCE."

In pursuance of his "hypothesis of fifteenth-century redaction" of the *Bruce*, Mr. Brown applies what he claims to be "fair and ordinary tests" to six "selected examples," in order to show that his hypothesis "has a basis in demonstrable fact." I shall notice such of these very briefly, premising that I do not consider Mr. Brown's use of his tests either "fair" or "ordinary." So much, I think, will appear.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> As cited, p. 45. <sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 292. <sup>3</sup> Pp. 43-47. <sup>4</sup> P. 56. <sup>5</sup> P. 162. <sup>6</sup> P. 448. <sup>7</sup> The Bruce, I. 160; Alexander, 8, 8; Wyntoun, Book viii.

The Bruce, I. 160; Alexander, 8, 8; Wyntoun, Book viii, chap. ii. 246; Brown, p. 110.

8 The Wallace and The Bruce Restudied, p. 92,

1. The Trojan War, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, and

King Arthur.

(a) The only thing urged against the *Trojan War* passage<sup>1</sup> is that it is in the suspicious company of the others, and these, Mr. Brown suggests, are derived from Chaucer's *Monk's Tale*, from which he produces a selection of lines to parallel those in the *Bruce*. It may be urged,<sup>2</sup> at the outset, that two contemporary poets dealing with the same set of historical events are very likely to display similarities. As Chaucer himself begins by saying—

"The storie of Alisaundre is so commune, That every wight that hath discrecioune Hath herd somwhat or al of his fortune."

But even in Mr. Brown's "selected" lines it is the divergencies rather than the similarities that stand out. Chaucer says nothing of "Babilony's tour"; "his awyne hows" is no parallel to "of thyne owne folk"; and "Bot, ar he deit, his land delt he" has no equivalent whatsoever in the Monk's Tale. Yet Chaucer has forty lines to Barbour's eight. In fact, the "example" is a stock one, even to its phraseology, as witness these excerpts from sources half a century and more earlier than either poet: Commendatio Lamentabilis on Edward I. in 1307, "magnus Alexander . . . Nam ille annos regnans duodecim veneno hausto vita defungitur (15); Vita Edwardi Sec. (c. 1326). Sed ille magnus Græcorum imperator Alexander, totius orbis domitor, cum cunctas nationes orbis subicit, per familiares proditores toxicatus occubuit." Do such close parallels prove that either Barbour or Chaucer borrowed from chronicles which they never saw?

(b) Mr. Brown argues that the Julius Cæsar parallels are "not less remarkable for significant agreement, as regards the sequence of the narrative," and that "so far as concerns the diction it (the Bruce passage) approaches even nearer the Chaucerian original." But where Chaucer speaks of Cæsar conquering "thoccident" and "the orient," Barbour enumerates the countries. Is this similarity of diction? According to Mr. Brown, he is giving "simply an expansion of the Chaucerian phrases. Elsewhere, in such a case, Barbour is convicted of "summarising" or "assimilating," here of "expanding." This is Mr. Brown's "fork" from which no author could escape. In twelve lines Barbour comments on Cæsar's conquests, his imperial position, and his death, and in forty-eight Chaucer gives a detailed biography introducing Pompey, of whom Barbour says nothing, and Barbour is thereupon charged with following "the sequence of the narrative"—as if he could avoid doing so! That

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I. 521-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bruce, I. 529-548; Monk's Tale, Group B., 3821-3908. <sup>4</sup> P. 99.

<sup>5</sup> P. 97, n

Cæsar by both poets is styled "Emperor" goes for nothing; that was the medieval way; as also was the statement that he was killed in "the Capitol," as Shakespeare, too, believed. But the most striking note of difference remains. Barbour says of Cæsar—

"Hys eyn with his hand closit he, For to dey with mar honeste."

Now Chaucer remarks: "Of honestee yet had he remembrance," and Mr. Brown enrols the word "honestee" among the things "not to be explained either as commonplaces or as mere coincidences." We see Barbour's idea of his "honeste"; this is Chaucer's:

"His mantel over his hypes casteth he For no man sholde seen his privetee."4

Mr. Brown here seems to have followed Cæsar's example and

" closit hys eyn "!

(c) The only point made with regard to the Arthur lines<sup>5</sup> is the calling of Lucius "Emperor," and regarding this see my note on the passage. Geoffrey of Monmouth does the same. That Wyntoun corrects Huchown, and not Barbour, in this usage—well, Mr. Brown can make all he can of that. Barbour's dozen lines on the familiar Arthur story is charged with being "an excellent summary of the Morte Arthure," a poem of 4,364 lines! No "expansion" here!

2. The Alexander allusions in Bks. III., X. With reference to these see Appendix E. But why should Mr. Brown speak of "the famous grey palfrey of Lord Douglas" on the strength of one notice in Bk. II. 118? There is nothing to justify the epithet "famous"; and Ferrand was no more an unusual name for a "grey" horse than Blanchard for a white one. Bishop Lamberton might have had "a grey" as well as Eumynedus. The strength of the

3. The Ferumbras Romance. I have analyzed this passage in my notes to Bk. III., 435-462. Mr. Brown contends that the adoption of the form Ferumbras for the French Fierabras "points to a knowledge on the part of the Scottish poet" of either the Syr Ferumbras or the Sowdone of Babylone, in both of which this form occurs. It is possibly an adaptation of the spelling Fierenbras, which occurs in The Destruction of Rome and also in a fragment of the romance. But there is nothing more remarkable in Barbour's intrusion of the "m" here than in his calling Lubaut or Lybaut, Lumbard in Bk. X. 324, or Capaneus, Campaneus. More significant is the name Lavyne for Balan,

E.E.T.S. The Sowdone of Babylone, Introd., pp. xxxi, xxxii.
 See note.
 II. 534.

which is the normal form for all the existing texts, French and English, save the Sowdone, where we have Laban, Lavane and Lavyne, and The Destruction of Rome (French), which has Balan and Laban, the latter of which has given the spelling in "v." Mr. Brown, however, rules out the Destruction for Barbour, as being "merely related to the Charlemagne cycle," though Dr. Hausknecht accepts it as the original of the first part of the Sowdone.2 Why, then, should Barbour, too, not have known it? Mr. Brown's conclusion is that the name, with other material, points to the whole passage being based on the Sowdone, and the Sowdone being post-Chaucerian—in which opinion he follows, and even goes beyond, Hausknecht—of the beginning of the fifteenth century, after Barbour's death, it obviously follows that the lines cannot have been his work.3 Against this may be put Hausknecht's own conclusion, to which Mr. Brown makes no reference: "It is worthy of notice that the account of the Fierabras romance, as given by Barbour, may be considered, on the whole, as identical with the subject of the French Fierabras or the English Syr Ferumbras, but not with the Sowdan, as there is no mention made of the combat before Rome, nor any trace of what makes up the first part of the Sowdan."4 A few additional facts will substantiate Hausknecht's statement.

In the Sowdone the twelve peers are shut up in "Egrymor"; Barbour gives "bot eleven." Mr. Brown says of the Bruce account that, "Every line is traceable in the Sowdone." There is no trace of line 452, or of Lavyne's "flot" in 456; Charlemagne, instead of "being joyful" at the news that his peers were alive, there bursts out in anger against the traitor Ganelon.7 Conclusive, on Mr. Brown's own case, is the fact, noted by Hausknecht, that the relics mentioned by Barbour "differ from all other versions." It is not "off the croice a gret party "9 in the Sowdone, but simply "the crosse, the crown, the nailes bente";10 and there is no mention of "the sper."11 Nothing is said of the cross in the Fierabras or the Syr Ferumbras, and the Destriction has the crown of thorns, the cross, the nails, and the "signe" or shroud. Nor did Barbour invent "the sper." for it is spoken of in this connection, though not in the final distribution, in the Provençal version of the Fierabras: "e del fer d'una lansa," the spear-head. 13 It would seem, then, that Barbour was using a version of the romance different, in certain particulars, from any we now possess. At any rate, Mr. Brown

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> As cited, p. xxv. <sup>3</sup> Pp. 115, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> P. ix, note. The italics are mine. 7 "Genelyn," 2843-6. <sup>6</sup> P. 115, note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 444. <sup>8</sup> P. ix, note. <sup>11</sup> Bruce, iii. 459. <sup>9</sup> P. 461. <sup>10</sup> 665.

<sup>12</sup> Hausknecht, note to line 665.

<sup>13</sup> Der Roman von Fierabras, Provensalisch, p. 5, line 15; Immanuel Bekker, Berlin, 1829.

has to get round these awkward corners before he can transfix

Barbour on Lavyne.

4. The Tydeus Episode, Bk. VI. 179-268. It may be granted that Barbour here is not, as Skeat supposed, drawing directly on the Thebaid of Statius, even in memory. But then no more is Lydgate in his Story of Thebes; having used, according to Dr. Koeppel, some French prose epic based on the classical story, now lost, or giving in his poem "a transcript from a French rendering of Statius." There was ample material, including even, as Gaston Paris has suggested, an abridgment of Statius in Latin prose. Mr. Brown contends that Barbour's "redactor" borrowed from Lydgate. But here, again, the differences are sufficiently vital to thwart such a conclusion. "Betwix ane hye crag and the se" has no equivalent either in Statius or Lydgate, as is clear from Mr. Brown's own citations; nor has the detail that the "gret stane... throu the gret anciente, Wes lowsyt reddy for to fall." for which Lydgate has:

"Beside he saw with water turned down An huge stone, large, round, and square."

In an inductive literary argument differences must be accounted for as well as similarities, and any other possible sources must be satisfactorily eliminated. Opinions as to "the classical parsimony of independent translators" are purely speculative.

5. The Hannibal lines, Bk. III. 207-248.—Here Mr. Brown's argument needs only to be summarily stated to show its in-adequacy. Wyntoun borrowed from Barbour in some instances, but not in this; therefore, since there are similarities in the way the same story is told, the Bruce lines are drawn from the Cronykil.9 Wyntoun confesses to having translated from Orosius, Mr. Brown says through Martinus Polonus, and he follows his author closely. Barbour's narrative is brief and, in several details, faulty, in which he diverges from both the Latin author and his Scots translator. 10 The startling error in chronology. especially, "would not be readily made by one using Martinus at first hand," but with the Cronikyl before him the writer was quite likely to do so !11 The peculiar "touches" in the Bruce passage are noted, but unexplained. It is assumed that "The agreement with Martinus is much too close for it to be considered to be written from memory;"12 and "there is nothing in Martinus that should lead us to expect independent translators to ascribe such a victory to God and in terms so similar:

"Bot throw Goddis gret powste." Bot throw the mycht of Goddis grace." 4

<sup>1</sup> c. 1420. 2 Brown, p. 117. 3 Gregory Smith, The Transition Period, p. 8. 4 P. 211. 5 P. 118. 6 Pp. 252-3. 7 Ed. 1598, fol. 381. 8 P. 119. 9 P. 125. 10 P. 126. See notes on passage. 11 P. 127. 12 P. 126. 13 Wyntoun. 14 The Bruce, &c., p. 126.

But the terms are not "similar," and both are a mediæval rendering of divina miseratio in Orosius and Polonus. The whole argument in this connection is involved and haphazard. What is there illegitimate in the simple hypothesis that Barbour wrote from a well-stored but not perfectly accurate memory, and that Wyntoun preferred the first-hand to the second-hand source? So we explain both similarities and differences. Wyntoun's lines are a plain following of his Latin author; Barbour's a brief summary, with expansions and comments of his own leading up to the moral he wishes to enforce; and in this case Mr. Brown cannot point to a single line in common.

6. Froissart and the Bruce.—Here Mr. Brown prints his parallels in full, and the matter can be safely left to the judgment of the unprejudiced reader. It need only be remarked that Froissart (1) calls Douglas William instead of James; (2) sends the heart to the Holy Sepulchre¹; (3) makes Bruce choose Douglas; (4) embarks him at Montrose; (5) takes him to Sluys; (6) lands him at Seville: while Barbour (1) is right as to Douglas; (2) sends the heart against "Goddis fayis"; (3) makes the barons choose Douglas; (4) embarks him at Berwick; (5) says nothing of Sluys; and (6) lands him at Valentia. Of Barbour's "motive" lines, of the repentance for blood-spilling and the saving of his sins, 2 Froissart (or Le Bel) has no trace. The two narratives are independent, though, in their trend, alike.

# APPENDIX G

### LANGUAGE AND ORTHOGRAPHY

The language of the *Bruce* is Northern English, the dialect spoken north of the Humber. Barbour himself calls it "Inglis" (Bk. IV. 253), and Scottish writers down to the sixteenth century do the same. The name "Scots" is therefore a term of pure convenience, signifying the English spoken within the political borders of Scotland, which continued to be an independent literary medium after the Northern English of England had ceased to be such, and had yielded place to the standard dialect of Chaucer and his successors. But the language of the Aberdeen Barbour is substantially that of the Yorkshire Richard Rolle.

The most obvious characteristic of the northern tongue is that in development it was far ahead of its southern contemporary, in so far as it had absolutely got rid of inflections, not even retaining the final e which casts its shadow over Chaucer. Where the final e occurs in the Bruce it is non-significant and unsounded. Like the variable spelling, it is the result of the writing of English

by scribes accustomed to the sounds and orthography of contemporary French, which was rich in final e's<sup>1</sup>—a process which had seriously complicated the straightforward phonetic spelling of Old English. A peculiar Scots fashion, however, was the representation of the long vowels by a combination with y or i, sometimes in addition to a final e, which came to be regarded as the sign of a long vowel. Thus we have such groups as mar, mair, mayr: done, doyn, doyne. In these and similar cases y is simply an alternative form of i; at first it would be written before letters like m, n, u, where i, having no dot, might be mistaken for a part of the succeeding letter; then in practice the two would become interchangeable according to the caprice of the writer. In this matter the scribe of C is rather more regular than that of E. Now, such a diphthong as ai was in time reduced to a simple sound, when the i became superfluous, and came to be looked upon as a sign of length. With this function it was afterwards, at the pleasure of the writer, transferred to the company of other long vowels where there was no original diphthong. Thus we have the long vowel sound represented in three wayssimple, with following i(y), or with terminal e. In cases like tais, gais, however, the i is part of the termination of the present tense of the verb, of which Barbour is particularly fond.2

But while Scots—in the sense indicated above—had thus early parted with its inflections, it was, on the other hand, more conservative than the southern dialects in its treatment of the vowel sounds. It retained, for example, the Old English  $\bar{a}$ , which in Southern English was rounded into broad o (oa)-ct. ga, stane (O.E. or A.S. gan, stan) for go, stone. In the Bruce (X. 199; XII. 299) the rhyme more, before may show the rounding influence of r.3 Vowels in words of French origin show slight modification. Anglo-French nasal a before m, n tends to become au, whence daunger, etc., and o or u to become ou as in baroun, felloun. Ai and ei incline to merge in long e as feble (O.F. faible), and sesyt (O.F. seisir); but ai may also become a-e.g., tratour for O.F. traitor.

Aphæresis occurs in such shortened forms as stroy (destroy), semble (assemble), etc.

The following peculiarities may be noticed among the consonants:

ch sometimes = "tch" in middle and end of word—e.g., fech = fetch (II.532).

h is silent in hoost, as in all Anglo-French words of Latin origin, and sometimes drops out—e.g., ost (II. 559, etc., O.F. ost), also in ayris (heirs, V. 520).

<sup>2</sup> Buss, Anglia IX., pp. 505-507. Ct. also Murray, Dialect of the Southern Counties, p. 53. <sup>3</sup> Buss, p. 509.

<sup>1</sup> Sounded as yet, like those of M.E., but in time to become silent. Anglo-French is Norman-French developed in England; it was closely related to Old French, familiar to the scribes through the romances.

b in combination with m is dropped both in pronunciation and spelling. Ct. chamyr (II. 97), tumlit (IV. 182, etc.). C Hummyr for Humber; E Humbre (XV. 538).

d usually dropped after n—e.g., henmast=hindmost (XII.

d usually dropped after n—e.g., henmast=hindmost (XII. 268, etc.); sometimes intrusive—e.g., suddandly (VI. 11), but suddanly (VI. 220). In avantage, aventure from French the English d is intrusive.

f represents final ve in pruf or preif, leiff, driff, knaf, haf, etc., retaining the voiced sound (v) which it had in A.S. between

vowels, and r l and vowels.

g in words of French origin has before e, i, the English sound = da(j), which was also then the French one—e.g., liege, jugis.

l as indicating merely a long vowel is unsounded in walknyt (VI. 296), walk (wake, VII. 179, etc.). So we have also falt (VI. 345, etc.) and fawt (III. 298); realte and reawte, etc. Skeat holds that the l in the first case represents but a way of writing the first k, so that the words should be wakk, etc., but this does not cover the second case.

m and n are often interchanged, as in confort, manteme, etc.

ng becomes n before th as lenth, strenth, etc. Cf. also Grammar. The nasal ng may take the place of the liquid n, as in ryng (I. 78, etc.) for "reign" (Fr. regner). The French nasal nce is represented by ng or nch—e.g., Vallang (II. 201) or Vallanch (V. 472) for "Valence."

r. Métathesis of r is very characteristic of the Northern dialect—e.g., fryst (first), brist (burst, A.S. berstan), tursit (O.F. trusser), etc.

s is changed to sch in schir, isch (issue), etc.; but on the other side we have sall, suld (shall, should) and Inglis.

z has in Fiz the Anglo-French sound ts, as in rats.

# APPENDIX H

# GRAMMAR

# Nouns

Singular—Possessive Case.—I. The inflected genitive or possessive is formed by adding ys or is; MS. E, on the whole, shows a preference for the former. Sometimes the final consonant is doubled. Cf. a manis hand (VII. 580), to mannys fude (X. 189).

2. Nouns denoting relationship are uninflected, as in Anglo-Saxon: Mordreyt his sistir son (I. 557). Till his brothiris pes (XI. 652) is an exception found in both MSS. For And sperit of his brotheris fair (XVI. 21) in C, E has brodyr.

Note.—Wode-syde (E woddis sid, IX. 139), sonne-rising, hous end (VII. 163), all common combinations. Editors, however,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> S.T.S., I. lxxxix., and Glossary.

usually read the termination of the last as housis, though it

seems to fall under the same category.

Plural.—1. The plural also is in ys or is, more seldom es, representing A.S. as. It "formed a distinct syllable in monosyllables and words accented on the final syllable." The latter part of the statement is not, however, uniformly true. Cf. battalis (XI. 122), bischoppes and prelatis (XX. 294), etc., which are dissyllables.

2. Simple s occurs only after r and y (i)-galays, werriours, etc.—but spurys, baneris, towris also occur. Feys (I. 58) and

 fays (I. 223) are to be read as two syllables.
 3. Final f (ff) is generally changed to v, as theif, thevis; but wif preserves the f throughout, as wifts, wiffys, etc. (E, however, in XII. 246, has wyvis); and lif has lyvis (XI. 590), or livis and lyffis (X. 106), or liffis (IV. 137).

4. Words ending in er, ir, yr, yn, ill for the most part reject the final vowel before the ending of the plural: dochtrys, lettres or lettrys, wapnys, etc. Where the vowel is retained, it is silent,

as in schulderis (IX. 356), letteris (XVII. 31, 39), etc.
NOTE.—Burges in XVI. 80, XVII. 236, is clearly unaltered in the plural, and this would seem to apply also to marras (VIII. 35), hous (VIII. 514, etc.), and mos (VIII. 173), which are usually read as three and two syllables respectively. Cf. on Singular (2).

5. Of strong plurals, besides men and its compounds, ky and brethir by change of vowel (Umlaut), we have eyn(e) (A.S. eagan), with singular e or ey (VI. 523), oxin or oxyne (X. 381, 388), schoyne (II. 510). These (with hosen and fan (faes)) are the only plurals in n preserved in Northern English.

6. Some old neuters (A.S.) take no inflection in the plural: deir, hors, etc.; hous has hous and housis (X. 60, etc.), but cf. on (4) note); thing has thing (XI. 27, etc.) and thingis. Cf. also gudis and gude (XVII. 517, 521). One form is in er or ir, childer (XII. 246) or childir (XVII. 515), A.S. cildru.

7. Nouns indicating time, space, quantity, weight, and number are unchanged in the plural: fifty yheir (in I. 522 occurs ten yheris, quite an exceptional case), tuelf moneth, six and fourty wyntir (A.S. plural also winter), twa myle, tuenty thousand pund, etc. For paris in C (XIII. 463), E reads payr. In XII. 234 C has thre gret avantage, where E gives avantagis, but reads vasselagis (!) to rhyme.

8. Only men suffers inflection in the plural possessive: the Inglis menis fewte (VIII. 19), of othir mennis landis (XI. 148). In till Scottis men possessionne (XVII. 202) we may have, as Henschel suggests,2 a piece of "scribal carelessness;" but Hampole undoubtedly uses this as a valid form .

"Sal dede men banes be set togyder Thurgh messes, and rightwis men prayers."

Murray, Dialect of the Southern Counties, p. 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Darstellung der Flexionslehre in John Barbour's Bruce, p. 12.

#### PROPER NOUNS.

In general, these follow the common nouns in their forms, but note:

I. Two names ending in s have no inflection for the genitive: King Adrastus men (II. 529), Thomas prophecy (II. 86). This occurs also in Chaucer.

2. Douglas has both flectionless and inflected forms: the

Douglas men (X. 398), the Lord Douglassis men (XX. 481).

3. Possessive or genitive formed by his: Hannyball his mekill mycht (III. 232). Cf. also VI. 435, 446. Originally, as here, confined to proper names. A special example is in the reading of C (XVII. 940): Berwyk his toune; E Berwykis.

# ADJECTIVES.

I. There is no distinction in the Bruce between strong and weak adjectives, the latter in Chaucer being indicated by a final e, and used after the definite article, demonstrative and possessive pronouns, etc., nor is the plural similarly distinguished from the singular. In all these cases the Scots adjective is invariable; the final e, which often occurs, is of no grammatical significance. There is no difference between the gud Erll (XX. 686) and the gude Erll (XX. 603), while the plural is Erll gud Erll (XX. 416).

2. The only example of inflection is the form aller, genitive plural (er = -ra, A.S. eal-ra). It occurs once: through that aller

hale assent (I. 137).

3. The comparative and superlative are formed by adding ar or er (seldom ir) and est or ast. In words of two and more syllables mar (mair) and mast (maist) also occur. The same rule applies to adverbs. The final consonant of a monosyllable may be doubled: thikkest (VIII. 81), but also thikast (XVII. 156).

4. Change of vowel (Umlaut) appears in two cases—sterkar (E starkar) (XV. 491) and eldest (I. 51, IV. 71). Ill or evill is the Northern form for bad, compared with wer or war, werst (III. 192). Mor, for mar, occurs twice to rhyme with befor (X. 199, XII.

299). Er gives erar.

5. After the comparative comes usually than, which is always used by Rolle, but there are four examples of na—wes starkar ter na he (VI. 538), also III. 229, II. 519, X. 637.

#### NUMERALS.

I. Ane before a consonant sometimes becomes a: in a nycht and a day (III. 429). The tane and the ta are compounds of this numeral, with the old neuter thaet (thet) of the definite article, really thet-ane, thet-a. The former is a substantive, the latter an adjective: the tane suld be kyng (VI. 186), the ta part (III. 239). Similarly the tothir=thet othir (I. 7, etc.), which is throughout used for the ordinal "the second," as formast is sometimes used

for "the first": Fule-hardyment the formast is, And the tothir is

cowardis (VI. 337, 338).

2. Note thresum, fifsum, sex sum, where "sum denotes conjunction" (Jamieson's Dictionary), three, etc., together; half deill (A.S. dæl, a part); twa part=two parts; yneuch, singular (usually adverb), used for quantity, and ynew (enew), plural, for number. Cf. XX. 337, and I. 558.

N.B.—For demonstrative, etc., adjectives, see also Pronouns, Demonstrative, etc. Note sam(m)yn (same) as adjective and adverb (V. 72, XII. 49, etc.). Distinguish ilk(e) = same (A.S. ylc) from the distributive ilk (A.S. ale) = each. Others are sik (syk),

swilc, etc.

# Pronouns.

Personal.— I. In MS. E besides I is found the strong form Ik or Ic (A.S. Ic). The latter is entirely wanting in C, which has everywhere I.

2. The third person feminine is scho (A.S. sēo), once spelled sche (XIII. 635), a Southern effect, where, however, E has scho.

3. Note the gen. sing. mas. and gen. plur. in magre his, in spite of him, and magre thairis, in spite of them.

Possessive.—I. The genitive cases of the personal pronouns are most often adjectives. Before words beginning with a vowel they are mine, thine; before words beginning with a consonant they become my, thi; words beginning with h may have either form.

2. The forms used absolutely are myn, his, ours, yhouris, thaires: That suld be myn (V. 223), etc.

Reflexive.—1. The personal pronouns serve as reflexives: I

will me spied (XI. 638; And went hyr hame (V. 177).

2. There is also the form in self, more seldom selvyn, selvin. When the subject is a personal pronoun this may drop out: that himself suld wele Kepe the entre (XI. 445).

3. Self is both singular and plural: That thai mycht help

thameself (X. 619).

Demonstrative.—I. The Northern plural of this is thir, which supplanted thas as thise did in the Midland. Its origin is obscure.<sup>1</sup>

2. The plural of that is tha(i). Distinguish from thai (they), 3rd pers. plur.

3. Yhon(e), more often an adjective, has also a substantive

use in three cases only (IV. 502, 506; XIV. 280).

Relative and Interrogative.—I. The relative pronoun is that or at, never quha. At is a purely Northern form. Quhais and quham, occur occasionally as oblique cases. In author, as in

quham occur occasionally as oblique cases. In quhom, as in words like so, mor, etc., there is evidence of Southern influence. Quha is used as an interrogative. The simple quhilh occurs but

Murray, p. 185.

once (XVIII. 225, see note), where E has a different reading; otherwise it is in the form the quilk that.

2. The relative in the oblique cases is often omitted: the small folk that had thar (IX. 261). This is a marked feature of the

Wallace.

Indefinite.—I. None for nane occurs only once (IX. 485); and so, too, ilkone for ilkane, rhyming with a proper name (XI. 303). Nane is used both as substantive and as adjective. As adjective it comes before a word beginning with a vowel. Before consonants and h, na or no is used. In two cases no precedes a vowel: XIII. 145; XVI. 249.

Othir, often = "each other," as Thai dang on othir (X. 680).
 The plural of man has a pronominal use = one, German

"man": as men in the Bibill seys (I. 466); men mycht se (X. 678), etc.

#### VERBS.

I. Note the periphrastic form with gan in E (can in a few cases), can always in C: all the land gan occupy (I. 184); all can thai cry (XII. 200). The past tense of can is couth: than vittale all fast couth fale (VIII. 460): whence, by analogy, the false form begouth for past of gan, itself the past of ginnen, to begin.

2. Weak verbs form their past tense and past participle in it or yt, the latter being more common in E. In certain cases the vowel drops out, as in dwelt. After r, l (ll), n, the ending

is often in d, as herd, answerd, etc.

Note.—Felt for the ordinary feld occurs once, in III. 119. Cald, too, for callit, is forced to a rhyme (XIII. 61). The proper

past of send is send.

3. The present tense indicative is, I spek, thou spekis, he spekis, we spek, etc. But when the personal pronoun is separated from the verb, or when the subject is a noun or relative pronoun or other form, the ending is in is or ys throughout. Cf. yhow that takis (XVI. 592); yhe that this redis (VI. 269); all men fleis the did (IX. 90), etc.

4. The imperative plural is in is (ys): departis us (VI. 543). It is more rare without the ending (XI. 309; XII. 227, etc). This, however, is the rule when the imperative is followed by

its pronoun : luk yhe (XII. 217).

5. The present participle ends in and. Doubling of the consonant may occur after a short vowel—e.g., wonnand (X. 160).

6. The verbal noun (so-called) ends in yng or ing. In many examples the g is dropped, as the tendency was and is in Scots, and we have a form in yn(e). Cf. fechting (XII. 119) and fechtyn (III. 241). And these may rhyme, which shows that in sound the difference was not apparent (cf. IX. 120). Sometimes the particular form depends on the MS.—e.g., VI. 520, C supposing; E supposyn. The same thing is found in proper names with a similar termination.

7. The past participle of strong verbs has ending yn or in, seldom en. Clymen in X. 648, where the correct form, clummyn, is given in 606, is either really a surviving or intruded infinitive, or has been assimilated to it.

N.B.-VII. 524, C cum: E cummyn; X. 506, C won: E

wonnvn.

8. The infinitive has dropped all trace of an ending. which sometimes appears is silent. It is formed by prefixing to or till, in certain cases with for in addition. For one case we have a reduced infinitive with at: a-do (X. 348).

#### ADVERBS.

I. him allane is a strengthened form of him ane (VI. 272, 320), and is the more frequent of the two; equivalent to German "allein" and analogous in construction to the pronoun with self. In Early Scots alane is attached to the dative, in later and modern Scots to the possessive, his ane, etc. : the fuller form, from a confusion with lone, is now his lane, etc.
2. The surviving phrase, the morn (XIV. 478) occurs once for

the older to-morn. Mr. Gregory Smith says that the former begins to appear in M. Sc." (Middle Scots, 1450-1600), and

MS. E indeed reads to-morn in the passage above.

3. Note the compounds with gat (a way), thusgat, swagat, etc.: in XIX. 253; C swagatis; E swagat: also howgatis, etc., preserving

Genitive ending.

4. The forms on lift (XVIII. 154), on slepe (VII. 192), on stray (XIII. 195), etc., are peculiarly Northern forms for "alive," 'asleep," etc. Cf. also on fer, on flot.

#### Prepositions.

I. Till = to, the former being a Northern fashion. C frequently extends to on-to, on-till, as in VI. 622, XVII. 29, etc.

2. Note the verbal preposition that I of tell, etc.

3. Be and by are common to both MSS., C more frequently the latter, probably a Southern influence. Strictly in Scots be alone denotes agency; by usually=beyond, as in by ordinar, etc.

# Conjunctions.

- The verb suppos is several times used as a conjunction.
- 2. the-quhethir = thonguhether = thonguether, "nevertheless," unknown to the Southern dialects.2

Specimens of Middle Scots, p. xxxviii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Specimens of Early English, Morris and Skeat, vol. ii.

# GLOSSARY

Familiar words slightly disguised by spelling are not included.

2. C=Cambridge MS. of The Bruce; E=Edinburgh MS.; H=Hart's printed edition; S=Skeat's edition Scottish Text Society (S.T.S.); N.E.D. = New English Dictionary; A.S. = Anglo-Saxon; A.F. = Anglo-French; O.F. = Old French; O.N. = Old Norse; N.E. = Northern English; v.=verb; p.t.=past tense; p.p. = past participle; s=substantive.

3. i and y are completely interchangeable. In such cases as ar, air, ayr (ere), consult under first or earlier form.

4. Only the more significant or interesting references have been given, or those of single occurrence.

A, one, a single: A gatis, in one | Affy, trust way, uniformly, IV. 702

Abaid, s., delay: v., waited = abode Abais, v., to abash, dismay, dis-

courage; p.p. Abaysit, dismayed Abasing, Abaysyng, etc., s.,

dismay, discouragement

Abandoune, Abaundoune, give up; make subject, IV. 655, etc.; behave boldly: recklessly; abandoune, abandoune, loosely

Abovin, prep. and adv., above (A.S. ábúfan); also Abuf

Acquyt, v., free

Ado, to do = at do (N.E. infin.), X. 348 Afald, ''

"one fold," single, XX.

Affeir, Affer, s., bearing, pomp Afferis, belongs to, becomes (Anglo-Fr. afferir, to belong). See Effeir

Affermit, confirmed

Agane, Aganis, against

Air, Ayr, s., heir

Air, Ayr, adv., ere, formerly

(A.S.  $\bar{a}r$ ). See Eir Air, v., are, IV. 704 Alabast, alabaster

Alkyn, adj., every kind Aller, gen. pl. of all: thar aller, of them all, I. 137. See

Grammar All-gat, Allgait, always; every way, XVIII. 451

''´all-wielding,'' All-weldand, omnipotent

Alsone, Alsoyn(e), as soon, very soon

Als-tit, very soon

Alsua, also Alswith, very quickly

Ameyssyt, appeased, XVI. 134 (O.F. amesir)

Amonist, v., to admonish, exhort, VIII. 348 Amonestyng, Amonystyng, s.,

advice, exhortation

Amorus, adj., amorous Amouris, s., love Amovis,  $v_{\cdot}$ , moves;  $p_{\cdot}p_{\cdot}$ , Amo-Anamalyt, p.p., enamelled, XX. Anciente, antiquity, VI. 252 (A.F. ancienté) Anent, prep., near; towards; opposite to, XIX. 512. Anerly, only, merely, alone Angyr, anger, affliction, suffering, I. 235, II. 519; also adj., Angry, difficult, unfavourable, V. 70; pained, III. 530; annoying, XVIII. 515 Anis, Anys, once: at anys, at once A pane, for all that, nevertheless; really a mere expletive: " at a pinch " (Skeat) Apert, adj., open: in apert, openly, XIX. 217 Appurvait, provided Aquynt, acquainted Ar, Air, Ayr, adv., before, formerly (A.S. ær) Ar, an oar : pl. aris Arbytre, judgment, decision, I. 75 (O.F. arbitre or arbitrie) Arest, s. and v., arrest, stop Arettit, v., p.p., accused XIX., 20 (O.F. aretter, to accuse) Arsonne, saddle-bow, XVI. 131 Assay, v., "essay," try, attempt, attack; also p.t., underwent, **I.** 448 Assege, s., siege; also v., Assegit, besieged Assenyhe, war-cry; also, ensenyhe Assentit, "assented," agreed Assignit, p.p., assigned Assis, assize, court of law, XIX. Assolyheit, v., p.t., absolved, set free Assonyheit,  $\phi.\phi.$ , excused (O.F. essoigner) Assouerans, s., assurance

Assouerit, v., "assured," give confidence to, encourage, VI. 225; also intrans., to have confidence in, rely upon, XI. 309 Ath, Ayth, oath Atour, prep., over, above Atour, s., gear, equipment (O.F. atour, ator, furniture, gear) Aucht, v., ought; p.p., possessed, I. 45 Auchty, eighty Aulde, old Availyhe, Availl, to be of use Avalyhe, in phrase IX. 147, "avail what may avail," come what will. Availl, v., lower Avaward, vanguard Avenand, handsome, graceful (O.F. avenant, well-proportioned) Avent, v., to give air to, cool, XII. 145 Aventurous, " adventurous," dangerous, risky Averty, shrewd, prudent Avisè, skilful, II. 271, prudent Avisment, Avisement, advice, consideration Avis, advice, opinion; sound judgment, X. 269 Awayward, in their going away, XVI. 584 Awblasteris, arbalisters, crossbow-men, XVII. 236 (E). See Oblesteris Awmener, a purse (O.F. aumosniere, a bag for alms) Awter, altar, II. 33, 34 Aynd, s., breath (O.N. andi) Aynding, s., breathing Ay-quhar, everywhere Ayr, oar; pl. Ayris Avth, oath

Bacheler, Bachiller, a young knight, not displaying his own banner but following that of another

Baid. See Abaid Baill, burning mass (A.S. bal, great fire) Bailyheys, bailiffs Bair, v., p.t., bore Bait, Bate, a boat (A.S. bāt) Baitit, v., p.t., baited, fed. See Bayt Baneour, a banner-bearer Banys, bones Banyst, v...p.p., banished Banrentis, bannerets, XI. 259: knights bringing vassals under their own banner. Bacheler Bar, v., p.t., bore: bar on hand, maintained against, hence condemned, excluded, I. 62. See note Barblyt, barbed Barell-ferraris, vessels for carrying liquid, XV. 39. See note Bargane, s. and v., fight, encounter Barganyng, s., fighting, com-Barnage, baronage (O.F. barnaige, gathering of barons) Barnè=barnage (word of two syllables) Barras, barriers, outwork (O.F. barres; pl. of barre, a stake) Barrit, p.t. barred Basnet, a helmet of conical shape (O.F. bacin, a basin, giving dimin. bacinet) Bat(e), boat. See Bait Bath, both Battaillyt, Battalit, furnished with battlements Battale, battell, a battalion, division of the army Battel-sted, a battlefield, XV. Bauld, adj., bold; also adv., Bauldly Bayt, to feed Bawlmyt, embalmed Be, prep., by

Bedene, Bedeyn, straightway, quickly; in XV. 108 as an expletive, or with no particular force Beforn, prep. and adv., before Begouth, v., p.t. of began. See Grammar. Begunnyn, Begonnyn,  $\nu$ ., p.p., begun Behaldand, v., pr. p., holding Behufis, v. impers., it behoves: behufit away, had to go, VI. Bekand, warming, XIX. 552 Belif(f), speedily, soon Bemys, beams Benk, bench Berdlass, beardless Berfrois, a tower. modern belfry. See note X. 708 Berne, a barn Berynes, s., burial, variant of "buriness" (A.S. byrignes, a burial) Bet, v., beat, XIII. 158 Bet, v., p.t., improved, mended, XIX. 497 (A.S. betan, to better, repair) Betane, pursued, p.p. (Northern) of betake, III. 159 Betaucht. See Beteche Betraiss, to betray; p.p. Betrasyt, Betresyt Beteche, to commit, hand over; part., betaucht Betyd, v.; pr. sub., happen Biggit, built and so, inhabited. XIV. 383 Bikkyr, Bykkir, to skirmish; pr. part., Bikkyrring; p.t., Bykkerit Blenknyt, v.; p.t., blinked, glanced; variant of next Blenkyt, looked to the side, glanced, shone (A.S. blican, to shine)

Bodword, a message, XV. 423

(N.E. only)

Bodyn, p.p. (obs.), of Bid, bidden, challenged to fight; armed, VII. 103 Bollis, bushels Boruch, pledge (A.S. borh, a pledge Bot, but Boune, Bown, Bowne. prepared, ready; adj. and p.p.; v., bown, to make ready Bow-draucht, bow-shot Bourdand, jesting, humorous, VIII. 383 (O.F. bourder, to Boyis, fetters, X. 763 (O.F. boie, buie) Brad, Braid, broad Bra-syd, brae—i.e., hill-side Brast, v., to break, "burst," XV. 479; p.t., Brest, Brist. See Language, "r" Bredis, v., expand, spread out, XVI. 68 (A.S. brædan, to spread) Breid, breadth: on breid, in breadth (A.S. brædu, breadth) Brig, Bryg, s., bridge: as v., Briggit, bridged Brocht, brought, brought Browdyn, p.p., embroidered Bruk(e), v., enjoy Brulyheit, broiled, burned Brym, shore; originally "the line which separates the land from the sea " (Max Müller) Bryn, to burn. See Language, Brynstane, brimstone Bundin, Bundyn, p.p., bound Burchis, s. pl., burghs, towns Burd, board: Burdys, Burdis (II. 96, V. 388), the boards of a temporary table Burgeonys, leaves, fresh shoots, V. 10 Buschement, an ambush Busk, to prepare oneself, get

ready; past, buskit

But, prep., without: but persaving, without being seen, XVII. 92 Bynk. See Benk Byrd, it behoved; past reflexive verb : VI. 316 Byrkis, birches Byrnys, "birnies," shirts of mail Cald, Cauld, cold Call, to drive. See note on X. 227; labour, XIX. 174 Can, did (auxiliary). Cf. Gan Cant, active, brisk Car, "care" in sense of grief, regret Cariage, Caryage, s., baggage Carle, Carll, churl, peasant Carpand, v., pr., p., talking Carpi(y)ng, s., speaking, narrative Cataill, Catell, property, III. 735, V. 275. See Fe. Chaucer has it in this sense Cause, Cawse (two syllables). causeway, highroad (O.Nor.F. caucie = chaussée) Certis, certainly, I. 21, XVII. 812 " check-Chak-wachis, S., watches," inspectors of the guard Challans, s., challenge Challans, v., accuse, XIX. 60 (O.F. chalonger) Chalmer, Chamur, Chamyr, Chawmer, chamber. See on Language, "m" Chapyt, p.p., escaped Charge, business on hand, I. 141 Chargeand, pr. p. of charge, load, XVI. 458; p.p., chargit, IV. 401, etc. Charre (two syllables), s., a collection of chariots or waggons Chasty, v., to chasten; check, I. 122; reprove, IX. 742, 743, 75 I

Cheis, Cheys, choose. See Ches

Chekys, gate-posts, X. 229 nemyr, "Chimer," a loose gown, specially that of a Chemyr, bishop, to which the lawn sleeves are attached, XVI. 580 Ches, v., to choose; p.t., Chesi(y)t;  $\rho.\rho.$ , Chosyn Chevisance, provision, III. 402 (O.F. chevir, to furnish) Cheyff, in: directly from the Lord Paramount Childer, s. pl., children. Grammar Childyne, s.—i.e., childing, travail with a child Chos, s., choice, III. 264 Claif, Clafe, Claff, v., p.t., clove, Clap, knock, noise, X. 401 Cled, v., p.t., clad Cleket, catch, trigger (F. cliquet, a catch), X. 401; XVII. 674 Clengit, cleared, emptied Clergy, learning, IV. 689 Clerkis, men of learning, I. 249 Clething, clothing Cleuch, a gorge, hollow Clummyn, p.p. of Clym, climb Cole (two syllables), a buffet. See note on VII. 623 Com, s., coming Compering, s., comparison, I. 261 Compositur, arbiter, I. 883 Conabill, adj., proper, fitting, III. 290, V. 266 (O.F. covenable, suitable) Confort, comfort Conand. See Cunnand Consaf, v., conceive; p.p., consavit, XX. 186 Conteyning, Contynyng = containing, s., demeanour, behaviour Conteyn, v., demean or carry oneself; past, Contenyt Contrar, adj., contrary; also

Contrar, s., oppression, I. 461

Contraryit, v., p.t., countered, opposed Convyn, Convyne. See Covyne Cosynage, relationship, V. 135 Cosyne, cousin, near relative Coupillyt, "coupled," united Couth, (1) could, (2) di auxiliary, III. 460, XX. 250; past of can. See Grammar (Verb) Covatis, covetousness Cover, v., to recover; p.t., Coverit Coveryng, recovery, IX. 113 Covyne, s., counsel, XIII. 122; agreement, mental power, IX. IX. 77; secret design or contrivance; condition, XIII. 219 (O.F. covine, couvine, convine, manner of being, contrivance) (" cracks "), explo-Crakkis sions; gynis for crakkis, engines for explosions, guns, XVII. 250; so also crakkis of wer, XIX. 399 Croice, s., cross, III. 461 Cruk, s., a "crook," a large hook, X. 363 Crykis, crevices, X. 602, 605 (O. F. crique) Cuke, a cook Culter, a coulter, IV. 113 Cummyrsum, "cumbersome," difficult to cross Cun, v., to know, XIX. 182 (A.S. cunnan, to know) Cunnand, s., covenant, agreement Cunnannes, s., cunning, III. Cuntyrnans = Countynans, Contenance, face, manner, IX. 273 Cunyhe, a coign, corner

Dang. See Dyng Dantè, Daynte, s., pleasure, eagerness, honour, affection

Custumabilly, customarily, XV.

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Daw, of, "of day"—i.e., out of life: down out of dawis, killed, VI. 650 Dawing, Dawyng, s., dawning Dawit, p.t., dawned; p.pt., Dawyn De, v., to die ; p.t., Deit Debowalit, Debowellit, v., p.p., disembowelled, XX. 285, 570 Ded, Deid, s., death; pl., Dedis, XVII. 115: done to ded, slain Dedevnyheit. him, impers., he deigned Defawtyt, "defaulted," put in fault, I. 182 Defoull, defile Degyse (three syllables), feigned, XIX. 459 (F. déguisé, disguised) Deill, s., part, bit: nocht a deill, not a bit Delitabill, pleasant Deli(y)ver, adj., nimble, quick; also adv., Deliverly, Delyverly Demanyne, to waste, spoil, illtreat; to rule, manage; to be behaved, to conduct oneself, 229: p.t., Demane(y)t (O.F. demener, to treat, exercise, etc.) Dempt, doomed Demyng, judgment, doom Demys, judges, decides (A.S. dēman, to judge) Den, v., to dam, XIV. 354 Depart, to part, depart, VI. 552 Der, v., dare, risk, III. 382 Deray, disorder, injury (O.F. desrai, disorder, harm) Derenyhe, v., prove, vindicate (O.F. desraisnier, to render a reason, defend); s., single combat or duel, XIII. 324, 325 Derff, strong, daring Deris, v., harms (A.S. derian, to harm) Det, s., debt Devis,  $v_{\cdot,i}$  narrate; determine, propose, plan (F. deviser,

speak, decide, etc.); also noun, at all devis, in every way, IV. 264, etc.; at thair devis, to their liking, according to their plan, X. 363 Devour, duty (O.F. deveir) Dev, v., to die; p.t., Deyt. See Ďе Dicht, v., dress, prepare (A.S. dihtan, to prepare); Dycht Digne, worthy Dik, ditch, entrenchment; as v., Dik thame, entrench themselves, XVII. 271 Disclar, v., declare, I. 75 Discrif, Discryre, v., describe; p.p., Discrivit Discure,  $v_{\cdot,i}$  discover "discoverers." Discurrouris, scouts, spies Disese, s., discomfort Disherys, Dysherysys, v., disinherit Dispari(y)t, v., p.p., in despair Dispend, v., to spend Dispending, s., what they might spend-i.e., money—VIII. 509 Dispitous, adj., spiteful, cruel; also adv., spitefully, severely, angrily Disponis, v., disposes Dispulyheit, p.p., despoiled Dissaf, v., deceive Dissat, s., deceit Distrenyhit, compelled Distrowbilling, s., disturbance, annoyance, V. 216 Dittit, closed up (A.S., dyttan, to close up) Do, thrive, succeed, II. 128 Dochtrys, daughters, I. 200 Dongen, Dungin. See Dyng Dosnyt, Doysnyt, stunned, dazed Dour, determined, stubborn, severe Dowtyne, s., doubting, XIV.

Doyne,  $\phi.\phi$ , of do, done (A.S. Dre, Drey, v., endure drēogan, to suffer) Dreid, s., dread, fear: but drede, doubtless, IV. 277; withouten dreid, without doubt, 579 Dreuch, Drewch, drew, dragged Drif, Dryf, Dryve, v., to drive; continue, X. 699; pull, X. 255; Drafe, Drivin Drouery, Drowry, love. See note on VIII. 492 Dule, sadness, grief (O.F. duel, dueil, sorrow, suffering) Dulfull, "doleful," sad Dusche, a heavy blow Duschit, fell heavily, XVII. 693 Dyng, v., strike; past, Dang; p.p., Dungin, Doungyn Dynnyt, made a sound, XVI. 131 Dyspitit, v., p.t., treated spitefully, hated, IV. 596

E, Ey, s., eye. See Eyn Effer, Effeir(e), Effere (also Affeir), s., bearing, demean-our, I. 361, V. 608, VII. 126, etc.; stature, XX. equipment, belongings, XI. 196; business, X. 305 (O.F. afaire, thing, business, etc.) Efferis. See Afferis Effray, fear; also Effraying Effrait, Effrayit, p.p., terrified; also adv., Effrayitly Eft, again, VI. 378 Eftir, adv., afterwards; prep., after; also Eftirward, Efterwartis Eftsonis, soon after Egging, s., urging, pressing Eild, Elde, s., age Eir, Er(e), adv., "ere," before Eisfull, easy, V. 70 Ek, v., add to Ek, adv., also (A.S. ēac)

Eld-fadir, grandfather

 $5^{2}5$ Eldris, Eldrys elders, fathers Elys, eels, II. 577 Emang, among Embandownyt, v., p.p., subjected. See Abandoune Enchawfyt, v., p.p., heated, incensed Enchesoun(e), Enchesone, occasion, reason, cause (O.F. enchaison; Lat. occasionem) Enclynit, v., p.t., inclined Endentur, s., indenture Endlang, prep. and adv., along; forward, XIX. 356: endlang furth, right along forward, XVI. 548 Eneuch, enough Enew, adj. pl., enough Enfors, s., force, XVII. 448 Enforsaly, Enforcely, forcibly Enforsit, "enforced," strengthened Engreif, Engreiff, grieve, annoy Engynour, engineer, XVII. 434, 663 Enkrely, Encrely, especially; really, III. 529; earnestly, heartily Enpres, Enpris, Empris, enterprise; price, value, X. 507 Ensample, Ensampill, etc., s., example Ens(s)enyhe, war-cry (O.F. enseigne, banner, war-cry) Entencioune, intention, X. 527 Ententif, attentive; also adv.,

Enselyt, v., p.t., sealed Ententily Entremas, or Entremess, something served between the courses of a banquet (O.F. entremes = entremets)

Enveronyt, environed, surrounded Erar, adv., sooner, rather Erd, earth: at erd, on the ground Erding, Erdyng, s., burial

Erdit, v., p.p., buried

Ernystfully. ously, VIII. 144 Erynes, fear, II. 295 Es, Eys, ease, I. 228: male es, mail eis, disease, XX. 73, 74. See Male-ess Escheiff, XIX. 778. See Escheve Eschele, Eschell, a squadron, company (O.F. eschele) Escheve, v., to achieve; past, Eschevyt; p.p., Eschevit Eschewe, v., to eschew, avoid Espyne, a long boat, XVII. 719 O.N. espingr) Et(e), v., to eat; Ete, Eyt, Etyn, VII. 169, 170 Etlyng, Etling, aim, endeavour, intention Everilk, every Exorcisaciones, exorcisings, IV. Eym(e), uncle (A.S. ēam); Emy's, uncle's Eyn(e), eyes; pl. of E, Ey Eyth, easy, XVII. 454 (A.S. iethe) Fa, Fay, a foe (A.S.  $f\bar{a}h$ ); pl., Fais, Fayis; also Famen. foemen Failyhe, v., to fail, give way, faint, lose Fair, s., manner, XI. 256; condition, success, XVI. 21; journey Falding, s., falling, change Faldyn, fallen, XI. 547. See note Fall-brig, "fall-bridge," draw-bridge, XVII. 419 Fallow, s., fellow, companion Fallow, v., to follow Falset, Falsat, Falsade, falsehood Fand, v., p.t., found Fanding. See Faynd Fantiss, Fayntice, faintness of heart; Fantyss, deceit, XVII. 5 I

earnestly, seri- Far, v., to fare, go; p.p., Farn, fare,' circum-Faryne; s., stance, pomp; effort, XVII. 400; good cheer, XIX. 730; adv., fairly, becomingly Farand, Farrand, handsome, fit, II. 514, XI. 95 Fardele, a bundle Farlyit, v., p.t., wondered. Ferly Farsis, v., stuffs (F. farcir, to stuff) (pl.),Fassoun. Fassownys fashion, way Fast, adv., earnestly, zealously, 42; strongly, vigorously, XIII. 129 Faucht, Fawcht, fought Fawt, Faute, fault Fay, faith, fealty: at a fay, "at one faith "-i.e., subject to the same lord Faynd, v. (Scots form of Fand, obsolete verb), try, tempt; past, Fayndit; p.p., Fayndit (A.S. fandian, to try, prove); also s., Faynding, "tempting of Providence" (Skeat), III. 268. Cf. XII. 364 Fe, Fee, cattle; property, XIII. 725 (A.S. feoh, cattle, goods); Chaucer has "catel" (cattle) in this sense of wealth; of fee, by fief, in feudal ownership, XI. 456; pl., here Feys, I. ٢8 Feble, b., to become feeble, II. 384 Feblis, v., to enfeeble; p.p., Feblist Fechand, fetching, III. 428. See Language, etc. Fecht, to fight Fechting, Fechtyne, s., fighting

Fechting-sted, s., place of fight-

Feill, Fele, Feyll, adj., many

Feir, Fer, adj., unhurt: haill and feir, safe and sound

(A.S. fele)

Feir, Fere, s., companion (A.S. | Flechand, cajoling gēfera, a travelling companion) Fell, v., pertained, XVII. 176; befell, happened Felloun(e), Feloune, "terrible." cruel, wicked; also adv., Fellounly, etc. Felly, adv., cruelly, severely, exceedingly; also Fellely Felouny, s., cruelly, fierceness, harm Fendis, fiends, IV. 224 Fens, defence, XX. 384 Fenyhe, v., to feign; also s., Fenyheyng, feigning, I. 74 Fer, adv., far: fer out the mair, very much the more, VI. 666; on fer, afar; Fer-furth, far forward, XIX. 376 Ferd, fourth See Far Ferd, v., p.t., fared. Ferlifull, wonderful Ferly, s., a wonder Ferly, adj., wonderful (A.S. færlīc, "fear-like," strange); also adv. Ferm, adj., firm; adv., Fermly Ferrer, Ferrest, adj., farther, farthest, XIX. 537, 530 Ferryit, farrowed Fersly, fiercely Fesnyng, Festnyng, s., fastening, compact, XX. 57; confinement, XV. 309 Fetrys, fetters Fewte, fealty, service Fey, dying, doomed, XV. 45 (Icel. feigr, doomed to die) Feys, fiefs, I. 58 See Fecht. Fichtyne Ficht. = Fechting Flaggatis, faggots Flaikes, hurdles, XIX. 742\*. See footnote Flang, v., p.t., flung Flatlyngis, flat, XII. 59 Flaw, flew; p.t. of Fle Flawmand, "flaming," fluttering brightly, XI. 192

Fletand, Fleting, floating Fleying, s., "fleeing," flight, XIX. 459 Flevit, p.p., frightened, scared Flicht, Flycht, flight Flote, a fleet (cf. A.S. flota, a ship); on flot, afloat, XIV. Flure, floor, V. 400 Fluss, pool, XIII. 20 Flyt, float, III. 420 For, prep., against, XIV. 115 Forbeft, quite beaten, XVII. 793; Beft (N.E.) means "to strike, to beat"; "For" is intensive Forby, by Fordid, '' did for,'' spoiled Forfalt, forfeited, XIII. 499 Forfayr, go to ruin; past subj., Forfure, go wrong, fail, X. 529 (A.S. forfaran) Forgane, "fore-gainst," opposite to, XVI. 555 Forlorn, quite lost, X. 246 Forly, v., violate, I. 199 Formast, adv., foremost Forouch, For(r)outh, For(r)ow, prep., "for with," before Forout, Forowt, without Forouten, Foroutyn, Forowtyn, prep., without, besides (A.S. forutan) Forouth. See Forouch Forow, Forrow, before Forsicht, Forsycht, s., foresight Forsuk, avoided, turned from, XIV. 315 Forspokyn, v., p.p., agreed upon Forswat, v., p.p., covered with sweat, VII. 2 Forsy(e), strong Forthi, therefore (A.S. forthi) Forthirmar, adv., farther Fortravalit, v., p.p., exhausted by labour Forwounderit, v., p.p., greatly surprised, VI. 10

Foundyn, v., p.p., found

Foysoun(e), Fusioune, abund- | Ga, go; p.p., Gane, gayn ance, great number (O.F. Gabbing, s., lie, deceit (A.S. foison, plenty) Fra, from Frakly, eagerly, VII. 166 (A.S. frac, bold) Franchis, liberty, XI. 268 (O.F. franchise, freedom) Fra-thine, from that time for-Fray, s., fear, XV. 255 Fraying, clanking, clashing, X. 653 (O.F. freiier, to rub) Frely, noble, III. 578. See note (A.S. frēolic, free-handed, noble) Frer, a friar, XVIII. 300 Frest, delay (Icel. frest, delay) Freyast, freest Freyndsome, friendly Froggis, frocks, X. 375 Froytis, fruits, X. 191 Frusch(e), s., rush, crash, charge; v., to crush in or break violently (O.F. fruissier, froissier, to break) Fudyr, "fodder," a load, specially a waggon-load, as here, X. 198 (A.S. fother, a load) Fule-hardyment, s., fool-hardiness, VI. 337, 340 Fundyng, benumbment with cold (O.F. emfondre). Fundyn, Fundin, v., p.p., found, provided for Funyheit, "foined," fenced Fur(e), p.t. of Fare, fared, went on his way; behaved, II. 503 Furrit, furred Fusioune. See Fovsoun Fut-breid, s., foot's-breadth, XI. 365 Fute, person, III. 578. See note Fut(e)-hate, "foot-hot," with all speed Fyschit, v., p.p., fixed, resolved, XX. 178

gabban, to lie, jest); p.p., Gabbit, IV. 290 Gaddering, Gaderyng, s., gathering; as v., p.t., Gad(d)eret Gadwand, goad or whip, X. 232, (A.S. gād) Gaf(f), Gaiff, gave Galay, v., reel, II. 422 Gam(m)yn, game, play (A.S. gamen, sport) Gan, v = p.t. of ginnen, used as an auxiliary, did. Ct. Can Gang, go; walk, in phrase gang no ryd, IV. 193; pr.p., Gangand Garris. See Ger Gast, ghost, XIX. 214 Gat, way: a gatis, in one way, IV. 702 Gayne-cumming, "againstcoming," attack, II. 450 Gayne-geving, "again-giving," restoration, I. 115 Geddis, pikes (the fish) (O.N. gedda) Ger, v., to cause ; p.t., Gert Gestis, joists, beams, XVII. 597. See note 597. Ghyle, guile, I. 172 Gif(f), Gyff, conj., if: bot gif, unless Gladschip, gladness (A.S. glaed-Gle, Glew, glee; also game or business, affair in yheid the *gle*, I. 90, etc Glemand, gleaming Gliffnyt, v., p.t., looked quickly up Glowand, glowing Gottyn, Gottin, p.p., got Governale, government, skill in governing Graith, ready; also Graithly, Grathly, directly, speedily (O.N. greithr, ready) Granting, confession, XIX. 45 Granys, groans

Grathit, v., p.t. and p.p., made | Hals, neck ready Gravyn, v., p.p., buried, IV. 309 Gret(e), to weep (A.S. grētan); also s., Greting, weeping Gretumly, greatly, extremely Grevis, s., groves, V. 13 Grewit thame, v., p.t., impers., it made them shudder. See Grow Grow, to quake with terror, to shake; p.t., Growit, Grewit Gruching, grudging, XVI. 19; Gruchys, v., objects, II. 123 Grund, "ground," land, XX. See note Grundyn, p.p., ground Gude, s., property, XVII. 105; pl., Gudis Gyit, p.p., guided; still Sc. in guy-rope," guiding-rope (O.F. guier, to guide) Gyn, s., device, stratagem; Gyne, engine, XVII. 682, 691; Gynnys, pl., contrivance some sort of net or trap, II. 576 (O.F. engin, from Lat. ingenium) Gynour, s., engineer. See above Gyrd, s., a sharp stroke, blow; also pr. p., Gyrdand, rushing forward, II. 417 Gyrnand, growling, speaking angrily, IV. 322; Skeat says "grinning," of which it is a variant by metathesis of r, but also with a different shade of meaning; it is an ordinary Scots word in sense given Gyrs, s., grass (A.S. gers)

Hachit, s., hatchet Haill, Hale, Halle, adj., whole, sound: all haill, wholly; also =adv., Halely, Halyly, Haly Hailsyt, Halsit, saluted, II. 153 Haldaris, s., holders Half-deill, half-part, half, XIV. 188, 497

Gyrth, sanctuary

Halsing, salutation, VII. 117 "halting," Haltand, pr. p., lame

Haly, holy (A.S. hālig)

Hamly, adi, and adv, homely, kindly, in a friendly way Hansell, s., a present at the

commencement, V. 120 Hardis, s., "hards," or bundles

of flax-fibres

Hardnyt, v., p.t., emboldened, urged on, XII. 500

Harnas, armour (O.F. harnois, with dialectal form harnas)

Harnys, brains

Hat, v., p.t., was named; p.p., Hattyn (A.S., hātan, to be called; p.p., haten, N.E.

Hat, Hate, Het, adj., hot; also adv., Hat, hotly

Hawbrekis, hauberks

Hawbryschownys, habergeons Hawch, s., haugh, low-land, XVI. 336

Hawtane, proud, I. 196 (O.F. haltain, high)

Haym(e), home He, Hee, Hey, adj., high; also adv., loud (A.S. heh)

Hecht, to promise; to be named (A.S. heht, pret. of hātan; used as present, N.E. See Hat)

Hede-soyme, the rope attaching the yoke to the waggon, X. 180

Heill, v., cover; p.t. and p.p., Helit, Helyt, covered, hid (A.S. helan, to cover)

Heirschip, harrying, wasting (A.S. hergian, to ravage with an army, here)

Helde, v., to incline; pr. p., Heldand, inclining, V. 153

Heling, s., covering Helmys, helmets

Hely, adv., highly, loudly Hendir, behind, past. Hendirmar, Henmast

Her, master (Skeat, reading Hoyn, s., delay doubtful), IX. 640 Hude, a hood; t Herbery, Herbry, s., lodging (A.S. herebeorga, shelter for an army) Herbery, v. reflex, to "harbour" themselves, take lodging; p.t.Herberyd, Herbryit Herbreouris, men sent on to secure lodgings Herd, adj. and adv., hard Herrodis, heraulds (O.F. heraut) Hertit, heartened, encouraged, XVI. 662 Hevede, s., head, V. II (A.S. hēafod) Heych, adj., high; s., Heycht, Hicht, a height: into the Hicht, a houghicht, openly, V. 487 Heyt, p.p.exalted Hicht, s., a promise Hicht, v. See Hecht or Heych Hiddillis, Hyddillis, a hidingplace (sing.), VI. 382 (A.S. *hydels*, a den) Hidwys, adj., hideous; adv., Hvdwislv Hing, Hyng, to hang Hint, Hynt, seized, took (A.S. hentan, to seize) Ho, s., delay, XX. \* 429. See note Hobland, tossing about, IV. 447 Hobleris, light horsemen—i.e., riders on unarmoured horses –(Anglo-Fr. hobeleor—our. derivative of hobin. See next) Hobynis, light horses not enough to strong wear (O.F. hobin, hobi, armour apparently of English origin) Holl, adj., hollow, deep, VIII. 176 Holl, adj., whole, VI. 78 How-gatis, how. See Gat Howis, holes, XI. 153 Howis, "hoes," picks on long poles for warlike purposes, XVII. 344 (F. houe, a hoe)

Hude, a hood ; pl. Hudis, XIX. Hufe, remain, lie in wait; pr. p., Hufand, Huvande Humely, Humylly, humbly Huntand, pr. p., hunting Husband, a small farmer Huvande. See Hufe Hy, s., haste; v. reflex, to hasten (A.S. higian, to hie) Hyde, skin, III. 584, II. 511 Hye, adj., high; adv., loudly; v., to heighten Hyne, s., a hind, lad, XII. 460 Hyrcheoune, hedgehog (O.F. hericon, a hedgehog) Ic, I Ik, adv., eke; also III. 326. See Ek Ilk, Ilka, same, each. Grammar for distinction Ilkan(e), Ilkone, everyone, each Inew, adj., enough. See Enew Inewch, enough Infair, a house-warming, XVI. Inforcely, adv., with great force Inforsit, v., p.t., "enforced," strengthened, IV. 65 Ingrevand, pr. p., "engrieving," annoying In-myd, *þreþ*., amid Innouth, prep., within In-sundir, adv., asunder Intermelle, mixed fusedly, XIV. 215 up, con-In-till, prep., in, into Intwyn, asunder, VIII. 175 Isch, v., to issue ; p.t., Ischyt Iwiss, adv., certainly, truly, XVI. 154 (A.S. gewis, certain)

Jolely, handsomely, well

joli)

Joly, handsome, good; gay, high-spirited, VIII. 446 (F.

Journee, a day's work, a battle | Lasair, Lasare, Laser, Laseir, or feat of arms (Fr.)Jowele, jewel, XVIII. 360 Juntly, close up, XVII. 689 Justing, s., jousting, XIX. 520 Karlis, "churls," fellows (O.N. karl, a man) Ken, v., to know, recognize, perceive; instruct, direct, show; pres., Kennys, IV. 748; p.t., Kend; p.p., Kend Kendlyt, v., p.p., kindled Kep, Keip, s., heed: takand na kep, taking no heed, I. 212 Kers, Carse, low land bordering a river Kest, v., p.t., cast Kinrik, Kynrik, kingdom Knaf, Knave, a boy: knaif child, a male child Knawyng, s., knowledge Ky, pl. of cow (A.S.  $c\bar{u}$ ,  $c\bar{y}$ ) Kyndly, adj., of nature, IV. 721, Kyne, s., kind: na kyn(e), of no kind Kynrik, kingdom, royal power Kyrnaill, s., a battlement (O.F. crenelle) Kyt, a wooden vessel or pail Ladis, s., loads Lafe, Laif(f), Layff, Lave, the rest, the remainder (A.S.  $l\bar{a}f$ ) Landar (E., Lavender), Layn-

dar, a laundress Land-brist, surf Cf. Langar Lang, long. Lansit, Lansyt. bounded, dashed forward (O.F. lancier, throw forward; the O.Nor.F. form lancher has been adopted as "Launch ") Lans, s., rush, leap, X. 414 Lap, v., p.t., leapt Lardener, a larder, V. 410 Larg(e), liberal (O.F. large) Larges, bounty, liberty: at his larges, to the full, VII. 378

leisure Lat, s., let, hindrance, XII. 516 Lat, v., let Lat, Layt, adj., late Late, s., manner, behaviour, VII. 127 (O.N. læte, manners) Lauchand, laughing Laute, Lawte, Leawte, loyalty, truth (O.F. leaute) Law, Lawch, low: compar., Lawer Lawchtane, dull coloured, dark (Gaelic lachdunn = Irishlachtna, N.E.D.), XIX. 672 Lawit,  $v_{\cdot,i}$  lowered Layd-men, s., "load-men," the men in charge of the packhorses, VIII. 466 Lechis, doctors Lechyng, s., healing Leddir, a ladder Lege, full, free: in lege poustè, in health and full possesof one's faculties " (N.E.D.), V. 165 Leif, v. and s., leave: but leif. without leave, XVII. 863 Leis, v., lose; p.t. and p.p., Lesit (A.S. *leosan*, to lose) think, consider Leit, (A.S. lætan) Leit, v., let, XVII. 850. Lat Lele, Leile, Leyle, adj., leal, faithful; also adv., Lely, Lelely, Lelyly Lendit. See Leynd Lenteryne, Lent, the spring Lenye, " lean " Lesing, s., lying (A.S. lēasung, falsehood) Lesit, Lessit, Lesyt, v., lost Lest, List, imper. v., it pleases, VII. 314 (A.S. lystan, to please) Let, Letting, s., hindrance; adv. Letless, without hindrance.

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XVI. 568

Let, v., to hinder, allay, pre- Magre, s., ill-will, XVII. 60 vent; p.t., Letit, Lettyt (O.F. mal grè, ill-will); also Leve, to leave, to remain Levir, rather Levit, Levit: war levit of, had taken their leave of, XX. 577 Leyme, flame, XI. 191 (A.S. *lēoma*, a ray of light) Leynd, to remain, wait Leysch, leash Libbard, leopard Licht, Lycht, light Lichtit, v., p.t., alighted Lift, s., sky, XVI. 692 (A.S. lyft, air) Lish, v., to please Lishyt, v., p.t., listened Losengeour, a traitor, IV. 108 (O.F., losengier, a flatterer, a traitor) Lovit, v., p.t. and p.p., praised; and s., Loving, praise Low, flame Lownyt, sheltered, XV. 276; v., Lown, to become calm, to shelter (N.E. and Scots) Lowp, v., to leap Lows, v., to loose;  $\rho . \rho$ ., Lowsyt Lowtit, Lowtyt, bowed before or to Luff, s. and v., love Lufre, "livery," gift (O.F. livrée ; Anglo-Fr. liveré) Lurdane, s., rascal (O.F. lourdin, a heavy [lourd], i.e., stupid fellow)
"'lovesomely," Lusumly, pleasantly Lychtyt, v., p.t. and lightened Lyknyt, v., p.p., likened, compared Lyng, a line Lynyng, linen, XIII. 422 Lypnyng, s., trust Ma, v., to make; pres., Mais,

Mays

Ma(i)r, Ma(i)st

Ma, May, adj., more. Comp.

as prep., in spite of: magre his, in spite of him; magre thairis, in spite of them Maill-eiss, Male-ess, disease (F. mal aise) Maistri, s., "mastery," strength Maistris, arts, XIX. 182 Man, v., must, VII. 137; also Mon Manauce, Mannasyng, s., "menace," threatening Manausyt, Mannausit, v., p.t., menaced Mandment, commandment Manhede, Manheid, hood," valour Mankynd, s., manliness, IV. 530 Manrent, homage Manteme, Ma(y)nteym, maintain Marcheand, pr. p., "marching with," bordering. See next Marchis, marches, borders (A.S. *mearc*, a boundary) Marras, morass Martirdome, slaughter Martymes, Martinmas (Nov. 11) Mas, s. ,plur, maces Mastrice, mastery, superiority "masterly" skill, VI. 566 (O.F. maistrise) Mastry, "mastery," skill; force. VII. 354 (O.F. maistrie, skill) Mate, dull, dispirited (O.F. mat, dull) Maturite, s., deliberation XI, 583 Maucht, might Mavite, wickedness, guile (O.F. mauvitie for malvaistié) Mawch, kinsman, especially, as here, by marriage, XV. 274 (A.S. maeg) Mayn(e), s., tion Mekill, much, large (A.S. micel) Melland, v., pr. p., mixing (O.F. meller, to mix); p.p.,

Mellit

whence, a battle, etc. Mellyng, Mellyne, s., encounter; mixture, V. 406 Menand, v., moaning (A.S. manan); p.t. Menit, Menyt Mengit, v., p.t., mixed (A.S. mengian) Menyhe, Mengne, host, company Menounys, "minnows," small Mensk, honour, dignity (O.N. mennska, humanity) Menskfully, honourably Menyng, s., lamentation Menyng, s., remembrance, IV. 326. See Neyn Menys, think, XII. 269 (A.S. mænan, to think on). See Meyn Merdale, camp-followers, IX. 249 Merk-schot, XII. 33. See note Mesour, Mesur, s., "measure," moderation: our mesur, beyond measure; at all mesure. in every proportion, X. 281 Mesurabill, adj., moderate Meyn,  $v_{\cdot}$ , to think of, be mindful of; mention, X. 736 Meyne, v., to moan, lament, XV. 237 Misteir, Mister, trade, craft (O.F. mestier: F. métier) Mister, Myster, need (as above); also v., Mysteir, be necessary, XVII. 215; adj., needful Mocht, Moucht, v., might Mody, adj. See Mude, Mudy Mon, v., must Mone, to remember, bear in mind (O.N. muna, to remember) Mony, many Monyst, admonished, XII. 379 Mot, v., may be, IV. 26 Mow, a heap of corn, IV. 117 Mowence, mutation, change, I. 134 (O.F. muance) Mubill, "movable" property, V. 275 (F. meuble, furniture)

Melle (two syllables), a mixture, | Mude, mood, XX. 203; courage, XIX. 622 (A.S. mod); adj., Mudy Murnyn(g), s., mourning Muryt, blocked up, IV. 164 (F. mur, a wall) Mut, make mention, XIII. 60 Mycht, s., might: at thar mychtis, as much as they could, III. 190; that all mychtis may, that is able to do all things, III. 366 Mydlike, adv., moderately, III. Mydwart, s., midway, III. 682 Myrk, Merk, dark; s., Myrknes, darkness Myschieff, misfortune, danger, loss; evil fate, XIX. 71 (O.F. meschief) Mystrowing, suspicion; Mystrowit, suspected, X. 327 Myt, s., "mite," a bit Na, adj, no; conj., nor: na thay war, but they were, V. 372; na (ne) war, were it not Nakit, adj., naked, bare, XIII. 459; generally, however = without armour on Nakyn, of no kind: nakyn wis, in no wise Namly, especially Nanys, For the, for the nonce, X. 58 Nave, fist ; pl., Nevis, Nevys Navyn, s., shipping, III. 393 Nedlyngis, adj., necessarily Neid-way, adv., of necessity Neist, Neyst, nearest, next Neuth, prep., beneath Nevo, nephew Newlyngis, adv., newly Nigramansy, s., necromancy, IV. 747 Noblay, nobility Nocht, not Nocht-for-the, adv., nevertheless

Nouthir, conj., neither; adv.,

not, VI. 522

Novelreis, novelties, XIX. 394
Noy, annoy, hurt (O.F. nuire, to injure)
Noyn(e), noon
Noyus, disagreeable, XIX. 742
Nynt, ninth
Nysste, "nicety," folly
Nychtbur, Nychtbour, s., neighbour
Nygramansour, necromancer, IV. 242
Nyt, v., p.t., denied, I. 52 (O.F. noier, neier, to deny)

Obeiss, to obey; pr. p. as adj., Obeysand Oblesteris, "arblasteris," crossbow-men, XVII. 236 Occisioune, slaughter, XIV. 220 Ocht, aught, III. 282 Off lyve, alive, I. 293 Of-new, anew (" oftsithes," Oftsis, often oft-times, A.S. sith, a time) Oftymis, adv., oft-times On-ane, anon, immediately Ony, adj., any Oost, Ost, host, army Otow, prep., beyond Oucht, Owcht, adv., at all; very, XV. 428 Ouirmair, Owvr-mar, farther away Our, prep., over Our, Owyr, adv., too, very; over,

Our, Owyr, adv., too, very; over, across; also in compounds: e.g., Our-drawyn, etc.
Ourdriff, "drive over," sur-

vive Our-ga, "go over," overcome Our-hy, v., "hie or hasten

over," overtake

Ourta(k), overtake; manage, VIII. 190; cover, XI. 125; p.p. Ourtane, "done for," condemned, XIX. 55 Ourthwort, adv., "overthwart,"

beyond on each side

Ourtummyllit, "over-tumbled," upset

Outane, Outtak, Outaken, Outakin, besides, except Out-our, prep., across, beyond,

over Outraying, s., harm, injury, XVIII. 182

Owk, week (still an Aberdeenshire word)

Owth, prep. and adv., above, outside: beyond, XIV, 352.

outside; beyond, XIV. 352. Oysis, v., uses, are used; p.t. and p.p., Oysit (O.F. user, to be in the habit); Oys, s., use

Pailyhownys, Palyheonis, etc., pavilions, tents

Panch, s., paunch

Par, for (O.F. par): e.g., par cheryte, for charity

Parage, rank, lineage, I. 102, 276 Paramouris, adv., as a mistress Paske (in comps), Pasche, Easter

Pautener, adj., low, rascally (O.F. pautonier, vagabond)

Peill, a fort with stockade and ditch. O.F. pel; Late Lat. pelum (acc.), a stake, X. 137 Peir, v., to equal, match

Pennystane, a flat stone used as a quoit, XIII. 581 (E and H, see note)

Percas, adv., by chance (O.F. per cas)

Perde=par dieu (F.), an expletive, truly, etc. See next Perfay, "by my faith," truly (O.F. per fei, by my faith) Perfornyst, performed, XII. 61 (O.F. parformir)

Perquer, by heart, thoroughly (O.F. per quer (cuer), by heart)

Peth, path, pass Petwisly, Pitwysly, piteously Pik, s., pitch, XVII. 611

Planer, full, I. 624 Play, s., pleasure, V. 73; tricks, XIX. 364

Plenyhe, v., to complain

Pollis, pools, XII. 395, 404 Portrait, v., p.p., painted, 743; formed, shaped, 281 Pouerale, "poor-folk," camp-followers (O.F. pouraille, poor folk) Poustè, Powstè, power; for lege poustè, see Lêge Poynt, s., moment, opportunity; feat of arms, in poynt of weir, XVI. 492, and alone, XVI. 499; at poynt, in good condition, favourable, III. 702; in sic poynt, in such array, XII. 93; into sic point, at such a "point" or crisis, IV. 331 Pray, v. to prey; also s., with plur. Pravis Preif, v., to prove; p.t., Previt Presand, s., present: in or intill presand, as a present Prek, Prik, v., prick, wound, spur; Prikand, riding Prevate, s., "privity," privacy secrecy; secret design, X. Pris, Prys, v., to prize, esteem, praise Proplexite, s., perplexity Pryme, prime (six o'clock), the first of the "canonical hours" Pundelan, hero, warrior Punsoune, a dagger Punyhe, a skirmish Pupill, people Purchas, v., to get, procure (O.F. porchacier, pourchacier, to follow, to procure) Purchas, s., effort; contrivance, plot, XIX. 12 Purvians, "purveyance," pro-visions, IV. 397 Pusoune, s., poison Put againe, push back, repulse Pyne, pain, suffering, distress (A.S. pīn, pining, suffering)

Plewch, plough

Queyr, choir, XX. 293 Quhar, where; also in compounds, Quhartor, Quharthrough, etc. Quhedirand, whizzing or roaring, XVII. 684 Quheill, s., wheel Quhestling, Quhistlyng, "whistling," baying (of a dog), VI. 94, 87 Ouhet, s., wheat, V. 398 Ouheyn(e), adj., "wheen," few; also Quhoyn; comp. Quhenar Quhilum, "whilom," once Quhyne, whence, VII. 240 Quod, v., " quoth," said, XVIII. Quyntis, s., "quaint" devices or decorations on the armour or on flags, XI. 194; XIII. 183 Quytly, securely, X. 548; freely, completely Quyrbolle, leather hardened by heating, etc., XII. 22. note Rad, adj., frightened, afraid Radness, fear Raid, v., p.t., rode Rair, Rar, v., to roar Rais, Rase, s., "race," strong current Rais, v., p.t., rose Raith, Rath, soon Rakit, v., p.t., moved with speed (A.S. racian) S., Randoun, onrush, (O.F. randon, force) Rangale, Rangald, Rangall, rabble Range: on range "in rank," in "Indian file," X. 379 Rangit, v., p.p., ranged, ranked, XI. 431 Ranyt, v., p.t., rained Rath, adv., soon

Ratret, Retret, retreat

See Reik

Raucht, v., p.t., reached, dealt.

Raw, s., row Realtè, Reawtè, royalty, king-Rebaldaill, Rybbaldaill, rabble; also Rebaldis, rogues Rebelland, pr. p., as adj., "rebelling," rebellious Rebours, at, in great dislike Reboytit, Rebutyt, repulsed; also Reboyting, s., repulse (A.F. reboter: O.F. rebouter) Reconsalit, v., pp., reconciled Recour, recovery, II. 543 Recryand, recreant, cowardly Red(e), Reid, s., counsel; tane to red, come to the conclusion, taken the advice, XII. 389, XVII. 267 (A.S. ræd, counsel) Red(e), v., to advise Red, v., save, IV. 132, XIX. Redyit, v., p.t., got ready, IX. Refe, Reve, v., to take away; p.t., Reft; p.p., Revede, reft, V. 12 Refrenyhe, v., to refrain Regnyt, reigned, XIII. 698 Reif, s., plunder (A.S. rēaf) Reik, v., reach, XVII. 419; p.t., Raucht Reik, Reyk, s., smoke Releif, s., payment on taking possession of a property, XII. 320 Releyit, p.p., provided with a fresh supply, IV. 456 Relit, Relyt, v., p.t. reeled Rely, v., to rally; p.t., Releyt; p.p., Releit Renconfort, v., to encourage Rengye, Renyhe, Reynye, rein Renk, "rink," space, II. 365. See note Renyit, v., p.p., denied (O.F. renier, to deny) Renyhe, Reynye, s., rein Repair, s., dwelling, haunt, place of meeting or retreat Repreif, s., reproof

Reprief, v., to reprove Rerit, v., p.t., reared Rescours, rescue (O.F. rescos, rescousse, succour) Reset, refuge (O.F. recet, place of refuge); also v., p.p., Resettit, received Revede, See Reve Rewis, streets (F. rue) Riall, Ryoll, adj., royal; s., Rialtè, royalty, royal power Richtwisness, righteousness, adj., Rychtwis; adv., Rychtiously Rif, v., rive Rik, kingdom (A.S. rīce, a kingdom, sovereignty) Rocht, Roucht, v., p.t. Raucht Rod, s., road, path Roucht, v., p.t., I should not reck or care, VII. 24 (A.S. rēcan, rōhte) Routit, snored, V. 632 Rownand, Rowning, pr. p., whispering, XII. 360; s., Rownyng, XII. 368 Rowt, Rout, s., a blow; also Rowt, s., a company, troop Roydly, Ruydly, rudely, fiercely Rude-evyn, s., Eve of the Exaltation of the Rood or Cross, XVII. 634 Rusche, to rush, drive back, overthrow, repulse; Rus, XII. 527; p.t., Ruschit, Rouschit Rybbaldy, s., dissipation, 34 I Ryde, adj., severe, XII. 557 Ryg, ridge Rymmyll, s., blow Ryng, v., to reign. See on Language Ryoll, adj., royal, XIII. 30 Ryot, v., in ryot to, made "riot" in, ravaged Ryth, adv., "right," utterly, I.

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Sa, so Sa yhe, say ye, VII. 258 Sad, steadfast, XII. 134. See Sadly, firmly, compactly, steadfastly, XIII. 374, 494, XVII. 576 (Mid. E. sad = firm, etc., as in Chaucer) Sair, Sayr, sorely: by sair, pay for dearly, XVIII. 514 Sakless, innocent Salit, v., p.t., sailed; pr. p., Saland Sall, shall Sals, sauce, III. 540 Salt, s., assault; also Sawt Salusit, saluted, IV. 509 Sam(m)yn, adv., together Sam(m)yn, adj., same Sanct, s., saint; v., p.p., sainted Sanyt. See Sayn Sar, Sayr, sorely Sarraly, close together; also adj. and adv., Sarray, close, closely Sary, sorry Saucht, v., p.p., reconciled, X. 300 (c.f A.S. saht, peace) Sauf, Sawff, v., to save Saufly, safely Sauftè, Savitè, safety Savourit, scented, XVI. 70 Sawin, v., p.p., sown, IV. 685 Sawt, s., assault: also Salt Sayn, v., s., bless; p.t., Sanyt (O.F. seignier, to bless with the sign of the cross; Lat. signare) Saynd, a message, V. 196 (A.S. sand, a sending) Scaffatis, scaffolds Scaill, s., a scattered company, men in loose order Scale, Scaill, v., to scatter, separate; p.t. Scalit; p.p. Scalit; also Skalyt Scarsly, scarcely Scath, s., harm: also v., to harm Scathfull, Scathless, harmful, unharmed

Schar, Schair, Schare, cut. carved; p.t. of Scher Schavalduris, vagrants, V. 205. See note Schaw, v., show; p.t. Schew, X. 161, or Schawit Schaw, s., thicket, grove Schawdest, adj., super., shallowest, IX. 354 Sched, clove, divided Schent,  $\nu$ .,  $\rho$ . $\rho$ ., shamed Scher, v., to shear, cut up Schiltrum, a close-packed body of men: so in E; C has childrome (A.S. scild, a shield, truma, a troop) Schipfar, s., a journey in a ship Schir, s., sir Schire, adj., bright; also adv., Schyre (A.S. scīr, bright) Scho, pron., she Schoir, Schore, adj., steep Schonand, shunning, V. 201 Schop, v., prepare, more usual Schap, XVI. 573 Schore, adj., "sheer," steep Schoyne, "shoon," shoes, II. 510 Schoyr, loud threats Withoutin outher bray, bost, or schore.—King Hart) Schup(e), "shaped," purposed, attempted; p.t. of Schap Schynand, v., pr. p., shining Scowking, s., "skulking," cowardice Scowryt, v., p.p., scoured Scrymmyng, s., skirmishing, XIX. 521 (O.F. escrimer, to fence) Se, v., to see, watch over Segis, seats (F. siege, a seat): astrological term as "mansions '

Seik, adj., sick

Seir, Ser, various, separate

Sekirly, Sekyrly, certainly

Sekirnis, security, certainty

Sekir, safe, sure, firm, steadfast

Sekkis, s., sacks Sembland, "semblance," show Semble, s., assembly, body of men, II. 380 Sen, since Send, v., p.t. of Send; p.p., Send, Sent Sent, s., scent Sentens, meaning, IV. 260 Senyhory, Senyhoury, sovereignty, lordship, rule Sermonyng, s., speech, explanation, IV. 278 Sesand, v., pr. p., seizing Sesing, s., possession, VI. 496 Setis, snares, III. 479 Seyle, s., good, I. 303 (A.S. Ct. adj. Sely (silly) (A.S. sælig) Schawis, v., shows Shraf, v., p.t., shrived, XI. 377 Sib, related, kin Sib-man, relative Sic, Sik, such Sich, v., to sigh Sith, Syth, times, unaltered plur; also Sis. Sythis (A.S. sīth, a time). See Grammar Skaith, scath, hurt, injury. See Scath Skalyt. See Scalit Skill, reason Skunnyrrit, v., p.t., avoided in dislike Sla, v., slay; pr. p., Slayand Slaid, v., slid Slak, s., a hollow Sle, sly, crafty, skilled. Slear, Sleast; adv., Slely Sleuch, v., p.t., slew Sleuth, slot, track (O.N. sloth, a track) Slew, v., p.t., struck in slew fyre (A.S. slean, to strike) Slike, Slyk, mud, slime. For first Skeat gives "slick," rapidly (?), VI. 78 Slop, a gap, opening; pl., Sloppis. Cf. slaps and stiles in "Tam o' Shanter"

Smat, v., p.t., smote Snell, biting, sharp, severe (A.S. snell, quick, sharp) Snuk(e), a promontory, I. 188, IV 556 Socht, Soucht, v., p.t., sought Solacious, adj., pleasant, Somdeill, adv., somewhat, to some extent Sop, s., a sup, a hasty meal Sop, s., a close body of men; pl., Soppis, heaps Southren, southern Sowing, s., pricking, piercing, XVI. 628 Soym, trace of a cart. See Hede-soyme Sone, Soune, Soyn(e), soon Spar, v., faster, bar; p.t., Sparit, Sperit, Spyryt, etc. Spayn, span, grasp Spering, Speryng, s., asking, information; also v., Sperit, inquired (A.S. spirian) Spoulyheing, s., spoiling Sprent, v., p.t., sprang, XII. 49 Spryngaldis, shooting - machines, XVII. 247. See note Spulyheit, v., p.p., spoiled Squyary, a body of "squyares" or esquires Stablist, v., p.t., "established," settled Stad, "bested," hard pressed Staffing, s., thrusting, pushing, XVII. 785 Staff-slyngis, slings on sticks, XVII. 344. See note Staill, a fixed position, XVII. 97 Standand, v., pr. p., standing Stane, s., stone; pl., Stanis Stay, adj., steep Sted(e), Steid, "stead," place (A.S. stede) Steir, v., stir, IX. 382 (A.S. styrian): on steir, a-stir

(A.S. steor, steering, rudder) Steir, Steyr, v., to "steer," direct, govern Stekis, v., closes Stekit, v., p.t., stuck, stabbed Stemmand, steering, straight, V. 25 Stent, v., to pitch, set up; p.t., Stentit Sterand, "stirring," prancing, XI. 129 Stern, a star; pl., Sternis, Steris Stert, v., to start; p.t., stert Stertling, s., restless motion. (Cf. fische wantounly stertland.—Complaynt of Scotlande) Stew, mist, vapour, XI. 614 Stint, v., stop, X. 716; s., Stinting, stopping ith, Styth, "stiff," strong, Stith, Styth, hardy (A.S. stith, strong); also adv., Stithly Stoking, thrusting, XVII. 785 (F. estoquer, to thrust) Stole, "stool," seat Stonay, v., to astonish, terrify, defeat; p.t. and p.p., Stonayit Stot, drive back Stound, s., time, while Stour, s., conflict, battle (A.F. Stowpand, v., pr. p., stooping, VIII. 297 Straif, v., p.t., strove Strawcht, adj., Straucht, straight; also adv. Straucht, v., p.t., stretched out; also  $\phi.\phi$ . Strecour, s., a young hound, VI. 487 Strekit, v., p.t., and p.p., stretched, extended: strekit weill, clearly defined, XX. Strenyheit, p.p., constrained

Steir, Ster(e), s., a rudder Strikand, pr. p., "striking" (A.S. steor, steering, rud- leading, VI. 238; p.p leading, Strikin, fought Strowit, p.p., strewn Stroy, v., destroy Sture, sturdy, strong (A.S. stor, great) Sua, Swa(y), so Suagat, Swagat, so, in such a manner Succudry, pride, presumption (O.F. sorcuiderie) Sudjorne, s. and v., sojourn Suelt, died, IV. 311 (A.S. sweltan, to die) Suet, life-blood, life, XIII. 32 Suld, should Sum, as suffix, altogether, in all: e.g., fiff-sum, five in all; six-sum, etc. Sumdeill, Sumdele, adv., somewhat, to some extent Sumkyn, adv., of some kind. Ct. Nakyn Summer, the bearing or principal beam; same word as next, XVII. 696 Summer, a sumpter-horse, XIX. 746 (O.F. sommier) Suppowale, support, reinforcement, XVI. 111, 139 Sur-noune, surname, 152 Suth, adj., true; s., truth Suthfast, adj., true; s., Suthfastnes : adv., Suthley Swa. See Sua. Swak, a blow, V. 643 Swappit, drew quickly, threw, cast Swar, v., p.t., swore; also Swoir Swat, s., sweat Swonand, swooning, XVII. 648 Swilk, Swylk, such Swith, Swyth, quickly, soon: als swith, as quickly as possible Swoir, v., p.t., swore; also Swar Swome, v., to swim, III. 431 Sychand, pr. p., sighing

Sykis, streams in a muddy bottom, XI. 300. See note Syn(e), adv., afterwards, then, next, at last Syndir, Syndri, adj., sundry, various, separate; Syndrely Sythyn, adv., afterwards Syttyn, v., p.p., sat

Ta, v., take; p.t., Tuk; p.p., Tan(e), Tayne; pr. Takand

Ta; the ta = thet a, the one (see Grammar); also the tane = thet-ane

Taill, payment by an heir on succeeding to an estate, XII.

Tais, v., takes

Tailyhe, agreement, XX. 134; v., Talit (E. Tailyheit), agreed upon, XIX. 188 Taknyng, Takynnyng, sign,

token, evidence (A.S. tācnung, a sign)

Takyn, a token, sign, signal (A.S. tācn, a token) Tald, v., p.t., Told

Tale, number, XI. 5 (A.S. tal, number)

Talent, s., desire: so also in Chaucer, B. 1137 Taue the, the one. See Ta Tasit, drew back, V. 623. See Ta See

note Taskar, a thresher (A.S. therscan, to thresh) Tastit, v., tested, tried Taucht, v., p.t., gave Tauld, v., p.t., told Te, v., to tie, XV. 282 Tell, count (A.S. tellan)

Tend, tenth Tene, Teyne, anger, vexation, II. 377: for propyr tene in his personal vexation (A.S. tēona, injury, insult) Tent, care, heed

Ter, tar, XVII. 611

Tha(y), those. See Grammar Thak, thatch

Than, adv., then; even, I. 217 Thar, impers. v., it needs, it is

necessary, VIII. 257, XII. 300; p.t., Thurt
Thar, adv., there; and in compounds, Thareftir, Thar-fra, therefrom; Thartill, thereto; Thar-through, thereby

Tharup, "up there"

The-quhethir, however, yet, nevertheless. See Grammar (Conj).

Thine, thence; fra thine, from thence, V. 190; Thine-furth, thenceforth, XVII. 722

Thir. See Grammar these. (Pron.)

Thocht, conj., though Thole, Thoill, v., to suffer, endure; p.t., Tholyt; p.p., (A.S. tholian, Tholit suffer)

Though (t), though Thowlesnes, heedlessness, Ι,

Thra, eager (O.N. thrār, stubborn)

Thrang, s. "throng," crowd. press; difficulty, distress, X. 117, XV. 353

Thraw, a little time (A.S. thrāg, a space of time)

Thrawing, s., throwing Threllis, "thralls," slaves; also Thryll; Threldome, s., thral-

dom Thretty, thirty

Thrillag(e), Thryllage, thraldom; also Thrildome, Thryldome

Thrillit, pierced (A.S. thirlian, to pierce)

Thring, Thryng, v., to throng; pr. p., Thringand (A.S. thringan, to press, crowd) Thristill, a throstle, thrush

Thristing, s., thrusting, XIII. 156

Throppill, the windpipe, the throat Through, Throw; prep., through Throwand, pr. p., writhing, XV. 230 Thurt. See Thar Thyrland, piercing, making holes in, II. 540; pr. p. of Thrillit Tid, Tyd, time (A.S. tīd) Till, prep., to Till-hewyn, p.p., scarred, cut in different directions, XX. 367; p.t., Till-hewyt, clove, cut down, II. 381 Tit, Tyt, adv., soon, quickly; comp. Titar, Tyttar Tit, Tyt, v., snatch, pull, V. 603. XVI. 132 Tithand, Tithing, s., tidings, news To-fruschyt, v., p.p., crushed, broken in pieces (A.S. to, in two; O.F. froissier, to break) To-ga, fled To-morn, to-morrow Top-castellis. top-castles fighting-tops of a war-ship To-stonay, to astound thoroughly. ("To" is intensive = Ger. Zu) Tothir in the tothir, second. See Grammar Tournys, v., turns wandering To-waverand, in different directions Towme, a tomb Toym, Tume, leisure, V. 642 (Icel. tom, emptiness, leisure). See note Trammys, war-engines, structures of wood, XVII. 245 Trane, Traine, Trayn, stratagem, plot Tranonting, Tranontyne s., stratagem, specially, appar-VII. ently, a forced march, 508,608; v., Tranontit, XVIII.

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pings, armoured (of horses) Trast, Traist, adj., trusty; secure, XIV. 466; comp., Trastar; v., Trast, Trastit; adv., Trastly, Traistly, trustfully, securely, confidently; comp. Trastlyar; also Trast, subs., appointment, XVII. 36 Travaill, v., to travel, work hard, pr. p.; also Travale. trouble, interfere with, VI. 602 Travaill, Travell, s., a difficult journey, IV. 48; labour, hardship; pl., Travalys: also Travailyhe Travaland, toiling, travelling; p.t., Travalit, troubled. harassed, etc. Tray, s., vexation, XVIII. 233 (A.S. trega) Trayne, v., draw, entice, XIX. 354 Tretis, s., a treaty; proposes to treat, X. 125 Treuth, s., troth, trust; gaf treuth, believed, IV. 223 Trew, v., trust, believe Trewis, Trowis, s., truce; also as plur., XIX. 200, 203 Treyn, adj., wooden Trist, "tryst," place of meeting; set trist, appointed, VII. 235 Tropellis, troops, small bodies  $(\bar{O}.F. tropel, dimin. of trope =$ troupeau, a troop) Trow, v., believe: Trowit. Trowit Trumpe, to sound the trumpet; Trumpand; pr. p., p.t., Trumpit, XIX. 429. See note Trunsioune, a truncheon, staff of office Trumpe, v., to sound on a

trumpet; pr. p., Trumpand

Trumpit, p.p., deceived, XIX. 712 (?) (F. tromper, to de-

ceive)

Trappit, furnished with trap-

Trymbill, v., to tremble, II. Utelauys, outlaws 295; pr. subj., Trymmyll, XII. 268 Tulyheit, v., p.t., harassed, IV. Tume, leisure, XVII. 735. See Toym. Tummyll, v., tumble; p.t., Tumlit, pulled down Turs, v., truss, pack up (O.F. torser); Tursit, Tursit Tutlyng, tooting on a horn, XIX. 604 Twa(y), two Twist, a twig, a small branch, VII. 188 Twyn, adj., twain, IV. 691 Tyd, v., to betide, happen Tymbrys, crests (F. timbre) Tyne, v., to lose; p.t., Tynt (Icel. tyna, to lose) Tynsale, loss, harm Tysday, Tuesday Tyt. See Tit Umbecast, v., to consider, think over Umbeset, v., beset Umbestount, adv., sometimes. VII. 398 (A.S. ymbe, about; stund, a time) Umbethink, Umbethoucht, bethink, bethought Umquhill, (A.S. sometimes  $hw\bar{\imath}l$ , a time) Unabasitly, boldly Unbondyn, v., p.p., unbound Under-ta(k), v., undertake; p.p., Undertane Unfair, Unfayr, unfortunate, evil Unseill, s., misfortune (A.S. unsæl) Unwittandly, unwisely Unwemmyt. See Wem Upcom, s., way up; also Upgang Ure, s., fate, luck, "especially good luck '" (Skeat) (O.F.

eur. Ct. bonheur)

Utouth, outside, II. 299 Valayis, s., valleys; pl., of Valè Vanys, veins Vaslage, Vassalage, prowess, valour (such as was expected from a vassal) Vath, s., danger (O.N. vāthi) Vaward, vanguard Vencus, Vencust, v., vanquish, vanquished Vere, spring Verty. See Averty Veschall, "vessels": i.e., plate, XI. 117 (F. vaisselle) Viage, s., voyage Vittelleris, Vittelouris, "victualers," foragers Volageous, "flighty," dashing, unsettled, VIII. 445, X. 553 Vyre, a bolt for a crossbow Vyre, cast, XVII. 704 (O.F. virer) Wa, Way, s., woe; adj., sad, sorry Wach, Wauch, v., watch, guard Wafand, waving
Wafand, waving
'' waged soldiers," mercenaries, XI. 48 Waik, weak. Cf. Waykar Wald, s., wold Wald, v., would Walk, v., to wake, watch; p.t., Wald, v., would Walknyt. See Language, Walkyn, v., to awake. See Language, "1" Wallyt, p.p., walled Walopyt, galloped, II. 440 Wan(e), v., p.t. of won Wane, Wayne, quantity, XVI. 454 Wapnys, s., weapons Wappyt, v., p.t., knocked, XVII. 691 struck, War, s., ware, merchandise, XIX. 194 War, adj., aware; wary, X. 333 War, adv., worse, XIII. 210

War, v., were Warisoune, Warysoun, s., reward Warn, v., to refuse, IV. 392; p.t., Warnyt, opposed; (A.Š. wyrnan, to warned refuse) Warnist, v., p.t. and stored, provided with; s., Warnasyng, Warnysyng (O.F. warnir; F. garnier, to provide) Warnisoun, garrison Warpyt, v., threw (A.S. weorpan, to throw) Warrand, Warand(e), s., refuge, place of safety, protection; v., Warand, to protect Warrar, adj., comp. more aware, V. 546 Warra(y), v., to war against; pr. p., Warrayand, warring upon, making war 'arraying, s., '' warring,'' war-Warraying, s., fare Waryit, cursed (A.S. wergian, to curse) Wassand, weasand, throat, VII. 584 Wat, adj., wet Watyt, v. p.t., "waited," lay in wait for, I. 202 Wat(e), v., wot, know Wauch. See Wach Waverand, v., pr. p., wandering about " weening." Wayn, Wevn. thought, purpose Wayndist, gave way, swerved, recoiled (O.F. wandir, gandir, to turn aside, escape) We, "wee," a small space or short time Wecht, s., weight Weddir, "wether," sheep Weid, dress; armour, XVI. 580; pl. Wedis (A.S. wæd, clothing) Weill, Weile, Wele, Weyle, adv., well very Weir, s., war

Weir, s., doubt; but weir, without doubt Weld, v., "wield"; pr. p., Weldand, ruling, guiding Weltir, v., upset, XI. 25; pr. p., Weltrand, rolling, III. 719; p.t., Weltryt, rolled Wem, stain, scar (A.S. wam); v., p.p., Wemmyt, scarred, *v., p.p.,* XX. 368 Wend, v., to go; p.t., Went Wend, v., "weened," thought, expected; p.t., Wenit Wene, Weyne, s., supposition: but we(y)ne, without doubt (A.S. wen) Wenyng, "weening," supposing, foretelling, IV. 765 Wer, adj., worse; also War Wer(e), v., to defend, XVI. 594 Wer, Weyr, s., doubt: but wer, without doubt. See Weir Werd, We(i)rdis, fate, destiny, and pl. Wicht, adj., strong, brave. active Wikkid, adj., poor, cruel; s., Wikkidness, timidity, weak-ness, XII. 280; Wikidly, severely, XVII. 809 Will, adj., wild, astray, VII. 2 (see note): will of red-of wane, at a loss Wis, adj., "wise," way (A.S. wis) Wissill, mutually destroy, XII. 580 With, Wyth, prep., against, I. 520 ; by, I. 521 Withsay, v., gainsay, oppose, I. With-thi, conj., on condition that Wittely, adv., wisely Wittering, Witting, s., knowledge, information Witterly, Wittirly, for certain Witty, adj., wise, prudent

Wlispyt, v., lisped (Old Low

Germ. wlispen)

Wod, Woud, s., wood

Wone,  $v_{\cdot}$ ,  $p_{\cdot}$ ,  $p_{\cdot}$ , wont, accustomed Wonnand, v., pr. p., dwelling; p.t., Wounyt (A.S. wunian, to dwell) Wonnyn, v., p.p., won Wonnyng, s., dwelling Worschip, s., valour Worth (Worthis), Worthit, v., becomes, became; p.p., Worthyn: hym worthit neid, it became necessary for him, XIX. 209; wo worth, woe be to, I. 515 Worthyhede, honour Woude, "wud," mad, XVII. 106 (A.S.  $w\bar{o}d$ ); also Wood, XX. 483 Woude, v., p.t., waded (A.S. wadan, wod) Wouk, v.,  $\dot{p}.t.$ , kept watch (A.S. wacan, woc, to watch, watched) Woux, Wox(e), v., p.t., waxed, grew Wrate, Wrat, Wrayt, v., wrote Wre(y)th, Wreythyt, v., became enraged, enraged; p.p., Wrethit, XVII. 45 Wrichtis, wrights, workmen Wroucht, v., Wrocht, wrought Wyndland, pr. p., rolling, tumbling over one another, XVII. 721. "Windle-straws" in Scots = dog's grassWysk, s., whisk, a quick blow.

Y, Yh. See also under I. Yare(e), Yha(i)r, adj., ready; also adv. Yheld, Yhald, Yholdyn, v., yield, yielded Yharn(e), Yharnit, v., yearn, yearned for Yharne, adv., diligently Yheid, Yhed, Yhude, v., went (A.S. ēode) Yheit, Yheyt, yet Yhemar, a keeper, groom Yhemsall, Yhemsell, Yheymseill, s., care (Icel. geimsla, guardianship) Yheyme, Yhemyt, v., guard, take care of (A.S. gyman, to watch over) Yhet, Yhate, s., gate (A.S. geat) Yhoill-evyn, "Yule-even," Christmas Eve Yhon(e), adj., yon; Yhongat, in that way, in such a way Yhouthheid, s., youth Yneuch, adj. as indet. pron., enough, XIV. 235, 364 Ynkirly, Ynkurly, adv., specially, particularly. See Enkrely Ysche, v. See Isch Ysching, s., "issuing," sally Ysche, s., "issue," way out; sally; outlet, XIV. 354 Yscheill. See Eschele

Ythand, adj., diligent, constant.

tenacious, also adv., Ythandly

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